

**KĀMAKOṬṬAM, NĀYANMĀRS,
AND
ĀDI ŚAṆKARA**

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FOREWORD

I am glad to sponsor the present work by Dr V. A. Devasenapathi who has been a devoted student of Tamil Saivism. The material he has gathered and presented herein will be of interest to scholars. I commend it to the attention of scholars.

K. K. PILLAY

Director

PREFACE

The present monograph entitled *Kāmakōṭṭam, Nāyan-mārs, and Ādi Śaṅkara* represents the research work carried on by me during the years 1971-72. At first I was diffident to publish this work. I, however, circulated cyclostyled copies to scholars for favour of their valuable suggestions and constructive criticisms. Dr Jean Filliozat of the French Institute of Indian Studies, Pondicherry, a great Indologist, wrote to me encouraging me to publish this work. Dr K. K. Pillay, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon), D. Litt, Director, Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras, was kind enough to suggest its publication as a special Bulletin of the Institute.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Dr K. K. Pillay for sponsoring the publication of this work as a special Bulletin of the Institute of Traditional Cultures and for his kindness in having written a Foreword to this work. To Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram, Former Vice-Chancellor of the Madurai University, I offer my profound respects for having acceded to my request to write an Introduction to this work. I have great pleasure in thanking Dr N. Veezhinathan, Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, for the valuable help he gave me in gathering material for this work.

I express my grateful thanks to Dr N. Ramesan, M.A., Ph.D., F. R. A. S. (London), for supplying the photograph of Bhairavācārya from a fresco painting at

Allah Durg, and to Mr K. Nilakanthan and Mr K. Nagarajan of B. G. Paul & Co. for their kindness in supplying the blocks that are reproduced in this work.

I am thankful to Dr R. Balasubramanian and to Dr T. P. Ramachandran of the Centre for Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, for the valuable help they rendered in the preparation and printing of this work.

I have great pleasure in thanking Messrs Avvai Achukoodam for the neat execution of this work.

I offer this work at the Lotus-Feet of Goddess Kāmākṣī-Kāmakoti—the *Śakti* of the great Śāṅkarite Institution for the southern region at Kāñcī. May Goddess Kāmākṣī accept this offering and bless us all !

Madras }
2—9—75 }

V. A. Devasenapathi

INTRODUCTION

By

Dr T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM

(Former Vice-Chancellor of the Madurai University)

I have been called upon to introduce the book “Kāmakotṭam, Nāyanmārs and Ādi Śaṅkara” — a well documented treatise by my good friend Dr V. A. Devasenapati, Professor of Philosophy in the Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras. I am a worshipper of God as the Mother - Kāmākṣī, of Kāmakotṭam, and I have been initiated into the mysteries of the worship of Kāmākṣī, the ocean of Karuṇā, Meru Chakra and Śrī Vidyā by an old priest of Kāmākṣī Temple. It is thus always my good fortune to be commanded to do what is nearest to my heart.

This work consists of two parts. The first part deals with the greatness of Kāñcī and Kāmakotṭam from very early times in Tamil literature and elsewhere coming down to the end of the age of the Nāyanmārs. The city is one of the seven great holy cities of India. A *śaṅgam* work refers to the festivals worshipped by many sects. Saint Appar refers to the boundless ocean of learning in this city. Kāñcī is one of the ancient Universities of India equally great in the history of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism.

The original name is Kāñcī, which in Tamil means a tree of the agricultural and urban tract, it being a well-known custom to name a city after the trees therein. In Sanskrit it means a jewel belt worn near the navel — here the navel of the earth, the city being considered to be its centre. This was pronounced with a short *a* by the Telugus as *Kanji*, and this in due course became by the hardening of the nasal, *Kacci*, which is the name found in Maṇimekalai and later works.

Maṇimekalai, the heroine therein, meets the Buddhist priest who is identified by some as the great Dharmapāla. Kāñcī was known to Patañjali of the *Mahābhāṣya* fame and also to ancient China.

The Centre of Kāñcī is the Temple of Kāmākṣī, called in Tamil Kāmakkotṭam and in Sanskrit *Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha*. Kotṭam in *Cilappatikāram* means a temple. In Toṇṭaimanṭalam its division is known as Kōṭṭam probably because each one of them had a temple. Kāmakoṭṭam is the name of the temple of the Goddess. At Kāñcī this Kāmakoṭṭam lies between the two rivers Kaṁpā and Vegavati. The river Kaṁpā now remains in the form of a tank in Ekāmreśvara temple.

The inscriptions show that originally there were separate temples for the Goddess, and these called Kāmakoṭṭam in śilpa śāstras and inscriptions grow later as separate institutions. But at Kāñcī there are no separate temples for Pārvatī or the Mother in any of the many Śiva temples, Kāmakoṭṭam of Kāmākṣī being the only such temple there. The purāṇic story of Manmatha conquering

Śiva with the grace of the Mother explains this fact by stating that at the request of Manmatha the Mother withdrew her *śakti* from every temple and at the request of Brahmā allowed the Pārvatī temples to grow except at Kāñcī, the place where Manmatha became victorious.

An old verse quoted by Aḍiyārkkunallār refers to Śāttān, who guards the Kāmakkotṭam and with whose *ceṇṇu* the Chola Karikāl Vaḷavan made the Meru whirl round. This temple of Śāttān is within the temple of Kāmākṣī. Because of the story already referred to, the *śakti* temples elsewhere were also known as *Kāmakkōṭṭam* as proved by the inscriptions and the poems of Appar and Sambandar. Appar speaks elsewhere of the Kāmakoṭṭi as the Mother Goddess impressing on Lord's Śiva's body her embrace, thus referring to the story of Kāmākṣī of Kāñcī. The lady of Kāmakoṭṭam is thus called Kāmakoṭṭi. Sambandar calls Pārvatī elsewhere as Kāmakkōṭi, which the author suggests should be Kāmakoṭi.

Kāmakkotṭam has been held in great reverence even by non-Hindus, as is proved by a Jain inscription of Śāttamaṅgalam that one who violates the terms of the endowment would incur the sin of destroying the Kāmakoṭṭam. There is the *Bilākāśa*, the *Śrī-Cakra*, the goddess Śyāmala and the temple of Kaḷvar or Ād Varāhamūrti inside the Kāmakoṭṭi temple. Kāñcīpurāṇa gives the story of Kāmākṣī performing the 32 kinds of Dharmas or aṇam. As a result, there is the *Dharmastamba* in the Kāmākṣī temple. Saint Sundarar asks a rhetorical question of Śiva: "whilst the Goddess (your wife) performs

thirty-two dharmas why should you beg?" The names *Dharmiṇī* and *Dharmavardhini* are thus explained.

Part two deals with Ādi Śaṅkara's connection with Kāñcī and Kāmakoṭṭam. The most authoritative story of Śaṅkara by Ānandagiri refers to Śaṅkara consecrating Kāmākṣī and *Śrī-Cakra* at Kāñcī, establishing the *Kāmakoṭi-piṭha* there and directing Sureśvara to be incharge of that and thereafter himself attaining *siddhi* there. This position is strengthened by reference to other works. Śaṅkara's *samādhis* elsewhere are proved to be memorials rather than *samādhis* in the real sense of the word.

Śaṅkara established the *maṭha* for the southern region (*āmnāya*) at Kāñcī. An institution for a region consists of three factors — a *śakti*, a *devatā* and a *kṣetra*. And the texts that deal with these three factors are known as *maṭhāmnāya* texts. All the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts except that published by Vāṇi Vilās press speak of the *Śakti* of the southern region as Goddess Kāmākṣī. The Vāṇi Vilās edition speaks of Śāradā as *Śakti*, but Śāradā is not the *Śakti* of Śiva but of Brahmā. The *Devatā* is Kaḷvar or Ādi Varāhamūrti which is present in the niche at the Kāmākṣī temple. Though the *kṣetra* is Rāmeśvaram, yet, since the abode of both *śakti* and *devatā* is Kāñcī and since Śaṅkara spent his last days at Kāñcī, he established the institution for the southern region there.

It is thus clear that Ādi Śaṅkara is intimately connected with Kāñcī and Kāmakoṭi. The sculptures in and around Kāñcī are replete with representations of Śaṅkara

as Ekandaṇḍa Sannyāsi, without regard to the deity to which the temples are dedicated. The author after an elaborate and careful analysis conclusively proves that the sannyāsin with an Ekandaṇḍa bearing the marks of the conch and the axe cannot be a Vaiṣṇavite or a Lakuliśa Śaivite, who carries only a silver staff, but can be only Ādi Śaṅkara.

The learned author of an important book - *Dvī Kāmākṣī in Kāñcī* - a book exhibiting deep research which I myself praised though not agreeing with all the conclusions therein — conclusions which Dr Devasenapati attacks in the present work has unfortunately made a passing remark that the Kumbakonam Mutt is now (1960) laying claim to *Kāñcī-Kāmakoṭi-piṭha*. Dr Devasenapati, quoting from the Mackenzie report, Mody records of the Madras Central Record Office, the Sarasvathi Mahal Library and the archives of the Mutt itself, High Court judgements, letters written by Śringeri Mutt, Firmans of the Nawabs and East India Company and inscriptions, conclusively proves that the position taken up once by the Śringeri Mutt that the Kumbakonam Mutt could not claim the Kāmakoṭi-piṭha had been dismissed by the High Court, that even in the beginning of the 18th century the Mutt had been at Kañcīpuram, that on account of disturbed conditions the Mutt was transferred to Tanjore and to Kumbakonam during the period of King Pratapa Simhā of Tanjore who was a great devotee of Śrī Candrasekarendra Sarasvatī the fourth, that even after moving to Kumbakonam the ācāryas were known as Kañcī Kāmakoṭi-piṭhadhipatis, that they were having control over

Kāmākṣī Temple and performing Kumbābhiṣekam, that the authorities of the Śrīgeri Mutt themselves have accepted the Kāmakōṭīpīṭha, that in the Manual of Pudukkoṭṭai edited by the author of the book *Devī Kāmākṣī in Kāñci* and in his article on copper plate grant of *Kāmakōṭī-piṭha* and in the proceeding of the Indian Historical Records Commission, he has referred to the old records referring to the *Kāmakōṭī-piṭha* and its ācāryas who were permitted by foreign rulers to continue their procession unmolested by others without paying tolls, etc.

The author after all these exhaustive researches concludes and I agree — “It is heartening to see that Śrī Śaṅkara has been followed by a line of Advaitic Preceptors in that great Institution. May Goddess Kāmākṣī, the *Śakti* of the *Kāmakōṭī-Piṭha*, protect us all-Her children.”

It will be thus seen that the author has given us an interesting, useful, and significant book, and he deserves our congratulations.

Madras, 29—8—75 } T. P. Meenakshisundaram

PART ONE

I

There are seven sacred cities in India which grant salvation. They are:

अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काशी अवन्तिका ।

पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैते मोक्षदायिकाः ।

ayodhyā mathurā māyā kāśī kāñcī avantikā

purī dvāravatī caiva saptaite mokṣadāyikāḥ

Sri Vedāntadeśika in his *Adaikkalappattu* (*The Refuge-Decad*) refers to the excellence of Kāñcī (Kacci) as one of the seven sacred cities that grant salvation.

பத்தி முதலாமவற்றில் பதி எனக்குக் கூடாமல்
எத்திசையும் உழுன்று ஓடி இளைத்து விழும் காகம் போல்
முத்தி தரும் நகர் ஏழில் முக்கியமாம் கச்சிதன்னில்
அத்திகிரி அருளாளர்க்கு அடைக்கலம் நான் புகுந்தேனே

bhattimudalāmaṁṣṭil pati yēnakkuk kūḍāmal

yettisaiyūṁ uḷanru ōḍi ilaittuṭṭūṁ kākaṁ pōl

muttitarūṁ naḡar ēḷil mukyamāṁ kaccitanniḷ

attigiri aruḷāḷarku āḍaikkalam nāṁ puḡundenē

‘Like a crow that flies in every direction and falls exhausted, I being unable to obtain the Lord through devotion, etc., have sought as refuge the grace of the Lord of Hastigiri of Kacci which is the most important of the seven cities that give salvation.’

by women). This ornament is worn only around the navel. Kāñcī is so-called because it is the navel position for the earth. *Kāñcīmāhātmya* and *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa* speak of Kāñcī as the navel of the world.

(a) तपस्थानं बिलं सूक्ष्म परमं व्योम तत्स्मृतम् ।

[काञ्चीमाहात्म्यम् ३१-७०]

(b) आधिभौतिकमहोन्नं नाभिस्थानं भुवः परम् ।

[कामाक्षीविलासम् ११-६]

(c) जगदकामकलाकारं नाभिस्थानं भुवः परम् ।

[कामाक्षीविलासम् १३-७३]

(i) *tapassthānam bilam sūkṣmaṁ paramaṁ vyoma tatsmṛtam*
(*Kāñcīmāhātmyam* 31-70)

(ii) *ādhibhautikamaṁhoghnaṁ nābhīsthānaṁ bhuvāḥ param*
(*Kāmākṣīvilāsam*, 11, 6)

(iii) *jagadkāmakalākāraṁ nābhīsthānaṁ bhuvāḥ param*
(*ibid.*, 13-73)

Sivajñāna Munivar in his *Kāñcīpurāṇa* refers to Kāñcī as the navel-region of the Goddess Earth who wears the sea as Her Garment and who shines as the Supreme *ākāśa*.

அணையால் பரப்பு நுண் பிலமாகி அருட்பர வெளியாய்த்திகழும்
அணைகடல் உடுக்கை நிலமகட்டுந்தி ஸ்தானமாம்

வீராட்டஹாசப் படலம் - 31.

aṇaiyāl parappu nun bilamāhi aruṭparaveṣiṭiyāyṭiḥaḷum

aṇaikadāl uḍukkai nilamahakundi sthānamām

Virāṭṭahāśappaṭalam, 31.

Kāñcī whose renown is celebrated thus, consists of *Kāmakoṭṭam*, *Rudra-Koṭṭam*, *Punya-Koṭṭam* and *Kumara-koṭṭam* which are sacred severally for Parāśakti, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Kumāra. *Kumara-koṭṭam* and *Kālikoṭṭam* are comprised in *Kāmakoṭṭam*.

Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (Tuṇḍīra-maṇḍalam) has as its boundaries *Svāmipuṣkariṇī* in Tirupati in the north, the sea in the east, *Tenpeṇṇai* known as *Dakṣiṇapināgini* in the south, and *Kallāru* in the West. Of these *Svāmipuṣkariṇī* is to the north east of Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara's temple at Tirupati. It is said that Lord Veṅkaṭeśvara invoked the river Virajā and named it as *Svāmipuṣkariṇī*. This is the northern boundary.

When Brahmā started performing a sacrifice at Kāñcī, without Sarasvatī, she flowed fast in the form of a river to destroy the sacrifice. Hence this river is known as *Vegavatī*. Mahāviṣṇu saved the sacrifice. Sarasvatī flowed eastwards and merged in the sea. This sea marks the eastern boundary.

When the sage Bhṛgu once lifted the bow of Śiva, known as *Pināka*, it assumed the form of a river. It is this which is known as river *Pinākini*. *Pinākini* takes two courses as *Uttarapinākini* (*vaḍapeṇṇaiyāru*) and *Dakṣiṇapinākini* (*tenpeṇṇaiyāru*). These are in the Nellore and the South Arcot districts respectively. The *Dakṣiṇapinākini* is the southern boundary.

When Lakṣmaṇa was struck down by the weapon of *Śakti* in the battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, Hanūmān, on the suggestion of Jāmbavān brought medicinal herbs from *Oṣadhiparvata* and those herbs were washed in *Kallāru*. *Kallāru* marks the western boundary.

Once upon a time Devī went to Kāñcī and was performing penance to obtain Śiva. Śiva ordered Gaṅgā to

take the form of a river to test her devotion, whereupon Gaṅgā started flowing in the form of a river. There was shivering in the body of Devī when she beheld the river in flood. This river came to be known as *Kaṁpā* because it caused trembling (*kampāna*) in the body of Devī.

Through *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam* bounded on four sides in the above manner flow the rivers *Kaṁpā* and *Vegavatī*.

At the time of Mūkakavi *Kaṁpā* was flowing in the form of a river ; and, it is clear from his verses in the *Āryāśataka* :

कम्पातीरचराणां करुणाकोरकितद्विपातानाम् ।

केलीवनं मनो मे केषाञ्चिद्भवतु चिद्विलासानाम् । [१२]

पुण्या कापि पुरन्ध्री पुङ्खितकन्दर्पसंपदा वपुषा ।

पुलिनचरी कम्पायाः पुरमथनं पुलकनिबुलितं कुरुते । [२२]

kampātīracarāṇām karuṇākorakitadvipātānām

keḷivanam mano me keṣāñcidbhavatu cidvilāsānām [12]

punya kāpi purandhrī puṅkhitakandarpasampadā vapuṣā

pulinacārī kampāyāḥ puramathanam pulakaniculitam kurute [22]

Herein he refers to *Kaṁpā* as a river. *Kaṁpā* is now in the form of a small tank on the southern side of the (first) outer prakāram of the Ekāmreśvara temple. The river *Vegavatī* is to the south of Kāñcī. *Kāmakōṣṭha* is situated in between these two rivers. And Goddess *Kāmākṣī* presides over the *Kāmakōṣṭha*.

III

The temple of *Kāmākṣī* is the centre of importance in Kāñcī. There are many temples in this sacred city dedi-

cated to Viṣṇu and Śiva. It is the custom in Kāñcī for the *utsavar* of any temple therein to be taken in procession at the time of *Brahmotsava* through the four main streets around the temple of *Kāmākṣī*.

All the temples whether Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite have their main gopurams or entrances facing *Kāmakōṣṭha*. There is yet another feature about Kāñcī. Whereas outside Kāñcī there is a separate *sanctum* for Devī in every Śaivite temple in Tamil Nadu, there is no such *sanctum* for the Devī in the Śiva temples within the limits of the city of Kāñcī.

It is because of this :—Manmatha who was made formless by Lord Śiva performed penance, in order to recover form, at Kāñcī invoking Goddess *Kāmākṣī*. Pleased with his penance, *Kāmākṣī* gave him a new form by her gracious look.

हरनेत्राग्निसन्दग्धकमसजीवनीषधिः । [श्रीललितासहस्रनामस्तोत्रम्—३४]

haranetrāgnisandagdhakamasajīvanīṣadhīḥ

[*Śrī Lalitāsahasranāmastotram*, 34]

He then prayed that he should be empowered to conquer Śiva. Granting his prayer, *Kāmākṣī* withdrew her *sānnidhya* unto Herself from all the Śiva temples including Kailāsa and concentrated all of it in the space of a small cave (*bilākāśa*) in the *Kāmakōṣṭha*. Finding his temples bereft of Her presence, Śiva felt the pangs of separation. It appeared as if that was the moment of Manmatha's triumph over Śiva. Sometime hence Brahmā went to Kailāsa to offer worship to Śiva. After worshipping Him, he went to pay his obeisance to Devī. Devī was not to be found there.

He then went to all the Śiva temples; he could not find her in any of them. He then realised that all this was due to the will of Kāmākṣī; and then he performed penance in the *Kāmakōṣṭha* at Kāñcī praying to Her that Her *sānnidhya* should be manifested in all the temples as before. Kāmākṣī appeared before him and in response to his prayer agreed to restore Her *sānnidhya* in all the Śiva temples except those in Kāñcī and further said that there is no need for a separate *sanctum* for Her in any of the Śiva temples at Kāñcī which is the *Śivajitkṣetra*. Thereafter, Kāmākṣī restored her *sānnidhya* in all those temples except Kāñcī. Since Her *sānnidhya* was released from *Kāmakōṣṭha* at Kāñcī, the *sanctum* of the Goddess in all the Śiva temples in Tamil Nadu are referred to as *Kāmakōṣṭha*.

पुरा पञ्चशरोऽनङ्गः प्रत्यक्षाङ्गामिलापय ।
 कामकोष्ठं समासाद्य कामाक्षीं संप्रपूज्य च ।
 हृदि ध्यात्वा तु तां कामस्तपस्तेपेऽतिदुष्करम् ।
 ततस्तत्कामदेवस्य तपसा तुष्टमानसा ।
 कदाचित् तत्र कामाक्षी महात्रिपुरसुन्दरी ।
 प्रसन्नाय महाशक्तिः खण्डाक्षनिरीक्षणात् ।
 ददौ कामाय दिव्याङ्गं नृणामानन्ददायकम् ।
 * * *
 तदा सर्वेषु शैवेषु कैलासाद्यालयेषु च ।
 यत्र यत्र स्थितास्सर्वा गौरीः स्वांशतया स्थिताः ।
 समाकृष्यैक्यतो देवी तूष्णीमासीच्छुभानना ।
 * * *
 कदाचिदथ लोकेशः कैलासाद्यालयेषु च ।
 सेवार्थं परमेशस्य समागत्यालयं तदा ।
 देवीहीनालयं दृष्ट्वा शिवस्थानेषु सर्वशः ।
 किमर्थमम्बिका नास्ति सर्वशैवालयेषु च ।

इति चिन्त्य ततो ब्रह्मा कामाक्ष्याश्चित्रमित्यपि ।
 विशाय ज्ञानदृष्ट्या तु कामकोष्ठमहीतले ।
 कामाक्ष्यास्सन्निधिं प्राप्य ध्यात्वा तद्वयं महेश्वरीम् ।
 सर्वालयेषु शैवेषु सर्वलोकस्थितेषु च ।
 यथा शम्भुस्तथा गौरी सदा साक्षिध्यकाक्षया ।
 हृदि ध्यात्वा तु कामाक्षीं द्वादशाब्दं तपोऽकरोत् ।
 ततः प्रसन्ना सा देवी कामाक्षी भक्तिकामदा ।
 तत्र ब्रह्माण्मालोक्य वचनं चेदमब्रवीत् ।
 * * *
 शिवजित्क्षेत्रमित्युक्तमिदं क्षेत्रं विना भुवि ।
 सर्वालयेषु शैवेषु सन्निधत्तां सदाम्बिका ।

[कामाक्षीविलासम्—१४, ९-१२; ३१, ३२; ६८-७३, ७५.]

purā pañcaśaro'naṅgaḥ pratyakṣāṅgābhilāṣayā ||
kāmakōṣṭhaṁ samāsādyā kāmākṣīṁ samprapūjya ca |
hṛdi dhyātvā tu tāṁ kāmāḥ tapastepe atiduṣkaram ||
tatastatkāmadevasya tapasā tuṣṭamānasā |
kadācit tatra kāmākṣī mahātripurasundarī ||
prasannā atha mahāśaktiḥ svaakoṣṭākṣanirikṣaṇāt |
dadau kāmāya divyāṅgaṁ nṛṇāmānandadāyakam ||
 * * *
tadā sarveṣu śaiveṣu kailāśādyālayeṣu ca |
yatra yatra sthitāḥ sarvāḥ gaurīḥ svāṁśatayā sthitāḥ ||
samākṛṣya aikyato devī tūṣṇīmāsīccchubhānanā ||
 * * *
kadācit atha lokaśaḥ kailāśādyālayeṣu ca |
sevārthaṁ paramēśasya samāgatya ālayaṁ tadā ||
devīhīnālayaṁ dṛṣṭvā śivasthāneṣu sarvaśaḥ |
kīmarthaṁ ambikā nāsti sarvaśaivālayeṣu ca ||
iti cintya tato brahmā kāmākṣyāḥ citramityapi |
vijñāya jñānadṛṣṭyā tu kāmakoṣṭha mahitale ||
kāmākṣyāḥ sānnidhiṁ prāpya dhyātvā ūrādhyā mahēśvarīm |
sarvālayeṣu śaiveṣu sarvalokasthiteṣu ca ||

yathā sambhuḥ tothā gaurī sadā sannidhyakāmkṣayā |
 hr̥di dhyātva tu kāmākṣīm dvādaśābdaṁ tapo'karot ||
 tataḥ prasannā sū devī kāmākṣī bhaktikāmadā |
 tatra brahmāṇamālokyā vacanaṁ cedam abravīt ||

* * *

śivajitkṣetram ityuktaṁ idaṁ kṣetram vinā bhuvi |
 sarvālayeṣu śaiveṣu sannidhattaṁ sadāmbikā ||

[Kāmākṣī-vilāsam — XIV, 9-12; 31, 32; 68-73, 75]

IV

KĀMAKOṢṬHA IN ANCIENT TAMIL LITERATURE

Kāmakōṣṭham is referred to as *Kāmakōṣṭam* in ancient Tamil Literature. To begin with, Aḍiyārku-Nallār in his commentary on the *Śilappadikāram* (5, 95-98) quotes an ancient Tamil verse which refers to the exploits of the very ancient ruler Karikālan who made a triumphant tour of the north upto Himālayas and planted his flag of victory on the Mount Meru. That verse is as follows :

கச்சி வளைக்கைச்சி காமக்கோட்டங் காவல்
 மெச்சி யினிதிருக்கு மெய்ச்சாத்தன்—கைச்செண்டு
 கம்பக் களிற்றுக் கரிகாற் பெருவளத்தான்
 செம்பொற் கிரிதிரித்த செண்டு

“kacchivaḷaikkaicchi kāmakkōṣṭam kāval
 mecciyinitirukku meycchāttan kaiccheṇḍu
 kambak kaḷirruḥ karikārperuḷattān
 chemporgiri tiritta cheṇḍu”

The *Chenḍu*—the club with which Karikārperuḷattān split the golden mountain is the club of Śāstā who keeps vigil in *Kāmakōṣṭham* of Kāmākṣī referred to as having bangles round Her hands.

This verse brings out the fact that *Kāmakōṣṭham* of Kāmākṣī was famous even at the time of Karikāla Coḷan—that is before the time of Tirunāvukkaraṣar, Śaṁbandar, and Sundarar.

The meaning of the expression *vaḷaikkaicchi* which refers to Kāmākṣī is borne out by the account given in the *Kāñcīpurāṇam* and the *Mūkapañcaśatī*. According to both these works, the impress of the bangles of Goddess Kāmākṣī is seen in the body of Lord Śiva.

स्तनाभ्यामपि बाहुभ्यां सपीड्य वलयैरपि ।
 आलिङ्ग्य ददं लिङ्गं एकचूतादयं शिवम् ।
 तदेकामेशलिङ्गं वै तस्या आलिङ्गनोत्सुकम् ।
 स्तनकङ्कणमुद्राभ्यां मुद्रितं भूतये भुवः ।

[काशीमाहात्म्यम्—४५]

stanābhyāmapī bāhubhyāṁ saṁpīḍya valayairapi
 ālilinga dṛḍhaṁ liṅgaṁ ekacūtādayaṁ śivam
 tadekāmeśalingaṁ vai tasyā āliṅganotsukam
 stanakaṅkaṇamudrābhyāṁ mudritaṁ bhūtaye bhuvaḥ

[Kāñcīmahātmyam, 45.]

अङ्कितशङ्करदेहां अङ्कुरितोरोजकङ्कणाश्लेषैः ।
 अधिकान्धिनित्यतरुणीं अद्राक्षं काञ्चीदद्रतां बालाम् ।

[आर्याशतकम्—१५]

aṅkitaśaṅkaradehāṁ aṅkuritor ojaṅkaṇaśleṣaiḥ
 adhikāñcīnityataruṇīm adrākṣaṁ kāñcīdabhutāṁ bālām

[Āryāśatakam 15.]

Tirunāvukkaraṣar, who flourished in the 7th century A.D., in his *Tiruttāṇḍagam* of Tiruvaḍigai Vīraṭṭāṇam

(near Panruṭi) uses the word *Kāmakkoṭṭi* in the following verse :

கொழும்பவளச் செங்கனிவாய்க் காமக் கோட்டி
கொங்கையினை யமர்பொருது கோலங் கொண்ட
தழும்புளவே வரை மார்பில்.....

[6-ம் திருமுறை, திருவதிகை வீரட்டாணம்,
அடையாளத் திருத்தாண்டகம், 10]

“ *koḷumpavaḥacchenganivāyikkāmakkoṭṭi*
koṅgaiyiṇai yamarporudu kōlaṅkoṇḍa
taḷumbuḻavē varai mārbil”.....

This means : ‘there is on Lord Śiva’s body the impress of the embrace of *Kāmakkoṭṭi* whose lips are red like coral.’

Sambandar, who also flourished in the 7th century A.D., in his *Tevāram* on Tiruirumpūlai (Ālaṅguḍi) uses the word *Kāmakkoṭṭi*. The *Tevāram* is as follows :

கச்சித்தொழுவீரகன்மகம் கிதுசொல்வீர்
கச்சிப்பொலி காமக் கொடியுடன்கடி
இச்சித்திரும்புளையிடங் கொண்ட வீசன்
உச்சித்தலையில் பலி கொண்டுமுலுனை

[2-ம் திருமுறை, திருவிரும்புனை, 4]

nacchittoḻuvīrgaḥ namakkidu ṣoḻvīr
kacchippoli kāmakoṭṭiyuḍan kūḍi
iḥchittirumbūlaiyidaṅ koṇḍa vīśan
ucchittalaiyil balikōṇḍulālūṇe

Here *kōṭṭi* appears as *koṭṭi*. In ancient times, the same symbol was used for the long and short forms of *O*. This is clearly noticed in old stone inscriptions. It was only after the starting of the printing presses that different

symbols were used to indicate the long and short forms of *O*.¹

1. It is said that the Devī in Kāñci is called by Sambandar as காமகொடி (*Kāmakkoṭṭi*). But this is not correct. In Sanskrit there are two different letters *ṣa* and *ḍa*. In Tamil, however, there is only one letter *ṣa* which is pronounced as *ḍa* also as in the case of *koṭṭi*. But the word காமகொடி in Sambandar’s *Tevāram* cannot be pronounced as *koṭṭi* and should be pronounced as *kōṭṭi* for the following reasons :

In the *Kāmakṣi-vilāsa* we find the words *Kāmakōṭṭi* and *Kāmakōṭṭam* used interchangeably in the verses,—

- (i) *kāmakōṭṭi smṛtaḥ so’yam*
- (ii) *tasmāt avasṛyaṅ kartavyam kāmakoṭṭasya darśanam*

The copper-plate grant of Vijayagaṇḍagopāla refers to the goddess as Kāñci-Kāmakōṭṭi. Mūka-kavi in his *Mūkaṇḍasati* refers to the goddess as *Kāmakōṭṭi*.

- (i) *kāmaparipanthi kāmīni*
kameśvari kāmapiṣṭha madhyagatā
kāmadughā bhava kamale
kāmakale kāmakoṭṭi kāmākṣi
- (ii) *samaraviṇakoṭṭi sādhanānandadhātī*
mṛdugunāparipeṭi mukhyakādarbhavāṭṭi
mūninulaparipēṭi mohitājñāḍakoṭṭi
paramaśivavadhātī pātumāṅ kāmakoṭṭi

Tirunāvukkaraṣar in his *Tiruttāṇḍagam* of *Tiruvadigai-Viṇaṇḍam* and Sundaramūrti nāyanār in his *Onakāntanrali Tevāram* in Kāñci referred to above use the words *Kāmakōṭṭi* and *Kāmakōṭṭam* respectively. The second letter *ṭ* in *koṭṭi* and in *koṭṭam* followed by the letter *ṭ* cannot be pronounced as *ḍ*. Nor are the words pronounced as *koḍḍi*. Instead they are pronounced as *koṭṭi* and *koṭṭam*. In the same manner the word காமகொடி in Sambandar’s *Tevāram* must be pronounced as *kāmakoṭṭi* and not as *Kāmakōṭṭi*.

It should be noted further that the letter *o* in *Kāmakōṭṭi* or *kāmakōṭṭam* is the long form of *o* although only the symbol for short form of *o* (ஒ) was used in *Tevāram* and stone inscriptions. Spoken Tamil has both short and long forms of *o* (ஓ). But written Tamil did not have the long form and only the short form served the purpose of both the short and long forms. Consequently the symbol for *o* when used before a consonant was a hook with a tiny circle at the bottom (ஓ). Constanzo Giuseppe Beschi in the first part of the 18th Century introduced the symbol for the long form *o* (ஓ). And the symbol for long *o* when used before a consonant was a hook with tiny circles one at the bottom and another at the top (ஓ).

In the same way written Tamil did have only the short form of *o* (ஒ). And Beschi introduced the symbol for long form of *O* (ஓ). And the symbol for short form of *o* when used before a consonant, say, *ka* followed by the sign *ṣ* is *கௌ* and the symbol for long form of *O* is *கோ*.

Sundaramūrti svāmi in his *Tevāram* on *Onakāntanṛali* in Kāñci uses the expression *Kāmakōṭṭam*. The *Tevāram* is as follows :

கச்சி மூதூர்க் காமக்கோட்டம் உண்டாக
நீர் போய், ஊரிடும் பிச்சைகொள்வதென்னே
ஓணகார்தன் றளியுளிரே
(7-ம் திருமுறை, ஓணகார்தன் றளி, 6)

kacchimūdūrk kāmakoṭṭam uṇḍāha
nīr pōy, ūriḍum piṇṇaikoḻvadenne
onakāntanṛaliyūṇirē
(7th Tirumurai, Onakāntanṛali, 6)

This passage, according to Aruṇaivaḍivel Mudaliar,² means: 'when there exists (*uṇḍāha*) Tirukkāmakōṭṭam in ancient Kacci, why should you go about begging for alms from the public'.

The term *uṇḍāha* cannot be taken, as some say, in the sense that it has come into existence only at the time of Sundarar; if that were the case, Tirunāvukkaraśar who flourished much earlier than Sundarar could not have used the term *Kāmakōṭṭam* at all.

Sekkiṇār in his account of *Tirukkuṛippuṭṭanāyanār* in the *Periapurāṇam* hails the greatness *Kāmakōṭṭam* in the following verse :

[See the article: தமிழ் எழுத்துகள்—அன்று முதல் இன்று வரை By சா. கணேசன் (கையேடு கலைக்காட்சி குழு, இரண்டாவது உலகத்தமிழ் கருத்தரங்கு மகாநாடு, சென்னை, 1968].

Thus till 18th century both the short and long forms of *O* were written with the symbol for short form only although the words were pronounced with short *O* or long *O* as the case might have been. From this it follows that the words *காமகோட்டி*, *காமகோட்டம்*, and *காமகோடி* should have to be written as *காமகோட்டி*, *காமகோட்டம்*, and *காமகோடி* in works before 18th century.

2. *Tevāram* of Sundaramurti, Dharmapuram Edition, 1964, p. 50

புண்ணியத்திருக் காமக் கோட்டத்துப்
பொலிய முப்பதோடிநாடறம் புரக்கும். [71]

puṇṇiyattirukkāmakoṭṭattuppoliya
muppadodiṇaṇḍaram purakkum

This refers to Goddess Kāmākṣi presiding over the Kāmakōṭṭam fostering the thirty two virtues.

The reference to *Sāstā* as the guardian deity of the *Kāmakōṭṭam* by Aḍiyārkkunallār in his commentary on the *Silappadikāram* confirms the fact that the present Kāmākṣi temple in Kāñci is the same as the *Kāmakōṭṭam* of Karikāla of ancient times. Even to this day the shrine of *Sāstā* is situated in the first *prākāra* of the temple.³ Sekkilar's *Periapurāṇam* also corroborates the identity of the Kāmākṣi temple with *Kāmakōṭṭam* by recording the fact that one who enters the *Kāmakōṭṭam* fails to locate the four quarters correctly — a unique and special phenomena of the Kāmākṣi temple.

அந்தமின்றி நல்லறம் புரிந்தளிக்கும்
அம்மைதன் திருக்காமக் கோட்டத்தில்
வந்து சந்திரகுரியர் மீதுவழிக்
கொளாதன் மருங்கு போதலினால்,

3. The worship of *Sāstā* or *Sāttān*, or *Āryan* or *Aiyanār* is prevalent in South India. In fact many of the villages such as *Sāttanūr*, *Sāttamangalam*, *Sāttappāḍi*, *Villupuram-Sāttanūr* and the like are named after *Sāstā* or *Sāttān*. These villages have, besides temples of *Siva* and *Viṣṇu*, temples dedicated to *Sāstā*. In *Villupuram-Sāttanūr*, there are temples and *pūjāsthālas* dedicated to *Sāstā* in eight directions. In *Tirunelveli* district, the worship of *Sāstā* is known as *Sāstā-prīti* and it is performed with Vedic mantras. The place *Āryankāvu* wherein *Sāstā* or *Āryan* is worshipped predominantly is named after *Sāstā* or *Āryan*. *Sri Saṅkara* in his *Sivapādādhikēśāntastotra* offers salutations to *Sāstā*. It follows from the above that the idol of *Sāstā* in the temple of Kāmākṣi is that of a god well-known in the Hindu pantheon and worshipped by the Hindus.

சந்தமா திரமயங்கி பெய்மருங்கும்
சாயை மாறிய தன் றிசை மயக்கம்
இந்த மாநிலத் தவரெலாம் காண
என்றும் உள்ள தொன்றின் றும் அங்குளதால்-74

*andamingi nallagum purindaikkum
ammaitan tirukkāmakōṭṭattil
vandu candira sūriyar mīdu valik
koṭṭadan maruṅgu pōdalināl
canda mādira mayan̄ki emmaruṅgum
cāyai māriyadan̄isai mayakkam
inda mānilattavarelām kāṇa
enrum uḷḷadon̄in̄um aṅguḷadāl*”(74)

From what has been said so far it would have become clear that *Kāmakōṭṭa*—the abode of *Kāmākṣī* has been very popular even at the time of the ancient king Karikala Coḷan. The reverence with which all the three Nāyanmars refer to the *Kāmakōṭṭam* reveals the importance of the *Kāmakōṭṭam* in the religious life of the people.

V

STONE INSCRIPTIONS

That the seat of Goddess in the Śiva temples outside the limits of Kānci is referred to as *Kāmakōṭṭha* can be seen from the various inscriptions found in Śiva temples in South India. The book entitled *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* published by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, contains several such inscriptions which are as follows :

1. சிதம்பரம் : கொவிலுக்கும் திருக்காமக் கொட்டமு (கை) டய பெரியஞ்ச்சியாருக்கும் சாத்தியருள்.¹
*Chidambaram : kovilukkum tirukkāmakōṭṭamuḍ(ai)aya
periya nācciyārukkum sāttiyaruḷa*
2. அவினாசி : கொவிலில் திருக்காமக் கொட்டத்துஞ்ச்சியார் பெருங் கருணை.²
Avināsi : koilil tirukkāmakōṭṭattu nācciyār peruṅkaruṇai
3. விஜயமங்கலம் : திருஞ்சிவர முடையார் திருக்காமக்கொட்டத் தாளு[கை]ட [யகை] ன்ச்சியார்க்கு அமுதுபடி.³
*Vijayamaṅgalam : tiruṇḍiśuvaramuḍaiyār tirukkāmakōṭṭattāḷuḍ (ai)
(ya) nācciyārkkū amuḍupadi.*
4. திருவொத்தியூர் : திருவொத்தியூருடைய னாயனார் கொயிர்த் திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய ன்ச்சியார்க்கு வெண்டும் நிமந்தங்களுக்கு.⁴
*Tiruvottiyūr : tiruvottiyūruḍaiya nāyanār koyirtirukkāmakōṭṭamuḍaiya
nācciyārkkū veṇḍum nimandaṅgaḷukku.*
5. திருப்பாலவனம் : திருப்பாலவனமுடைய நாயனார் திருக்காமக் கொட்டம் இயாதிலும் பாபாதி நாச்சி யார்க்கு.⁵
*Tiruppalavanam : tiruppalavanamuḍaiya nāyanār tirukkāmakōṭṭam
iyādilum pāpādi nācciyārkkū.*
6. திருக்காட்டுப்பள்ளி : திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார் அழகமர் மங்கையார்க்கு.⁶

1. *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* (Govt., Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras) Part I, No. 14, p. 22.

2. *Ibid.*, No. 197, p. 190.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 267, p. 248.

4. *Ibid.*, No. 530, p. 517.

5. *Ibid.*, No. 539, p. 528.

6. *Ibid.*, Part II, No. 597, p. 586.

திருக்காமக்கொட்டமுடைய பெரிய நாச்சி
யார் அழகமர் மங்கையாருக்குக் கற்றளி.¹

Tirukkāṭṭupalli: tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyār aḷagamar
mangaiyārkkku.

tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya periyānācciyār aḷagamar
mangaiyārkkuk kaṭṭaḷi.

7. வல்லம்: இக்கொயில் சி(வ) காமகொட்டமுடைய னாச்சியார்க்கும்
வெண்டும் நிமத்தத்துக்கு.²

Vallam: ikkoil si(va) kāmakoṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyārkkum veṇḍum
nimittattukku.

8. திருப்பழனம்: இக்கொயிலில் பூஜை நிலைகளும் திருக்காமக்
கொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார் கொயில் பட்டா
சாரிய நிலையும்.³

நான் எழுந்தருளிவித்த திருக்காமக்கொட்ட
முடையார் திருப்பழனத்துடையாற்கு.⁴

இன்னுயநார் திருக்காமகொட்டமுடைய பெரிய
நாச்சியார்.⁵

Tiruppaḷanam: ikkoilil pūjainilaihaḷum tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya
nācciyārkoil bhaṭṭācāriya nīlaiyum
nan elundaruḷivitta tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiyār tirup-
paḷanattuḍaiyārkkku.

innāyanār tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya periyā nācciyār.

9. கோவிலடி: இக்கொயிலில் நான் எழுந்தருளிவித்த திருக்காமக்
கொட்டமுடைய அகில நாயகியாற்கு பூஜைக்கும்.⁶

1. *Ibid.*, No. 598, p. 586.

2. *Ibid.*, No. 635, p. 613.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 1042, p. 975.

4. *Ibid.*, No. 1048, p. 980.

5. *Ibid.*, No. 1049, p. 981.

6. *Ibid.*, Pt. III, Sect. I, No. 1175, p. 1152.

Kovilāḍi: ikkoilil nān elundaruḷivitta tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya
akḥilanāyakiyārkkku pūjaikkum.

10. ஹஸ்திகிரி: ஸ்ரீபுரவராதிகபர காமகொட்டி(டி)ம்பிகாலப்தவர
பிரஸாத.¹

Hastigiri: śrī puravarāḍiśubara kāmakoṭṭi(ḍi)mbhikāla-
bdhavaraprasāda.

11. சிதம்பரம்:

देव्या (स्तस्या) शिखरिदुहितुः कामकोष्ठस्थितायाः

प्राकारज्यामपिदयितमसौवल्लुप्तवान् मण्डपञ्च ।

किञ्चित्तस्याः स्वपति नटनास्थान योग्यप्रकारं

सन्यं भक्त्या सुकरमकरोत् भूषणं मौलिपूर्वम् ।²

पीताम्बरं काञ्चनमेष देव्याः तत् कामकोष्ठस्थितिमास्थितायाः ।

चकार यदवैरिविलासिनीनां वनाग्निधूमाम्बरतां करोति ।³

Chidambaram: devyāstasyāḥ śikhariduhituh kāmakoṭṭasthitāyāḥ.

prākārajyāmapidayitamāsaukṣṭavān maṇḍapañca.

kiñcāitasyāḥ svapati nāṭanāsthānāyogyaparakāraṁ

satyaṁ bhaktyā sukaramakarot bhūṣaṇaṁ maulipūrvam.

pitāmbaram kāñcanameṣa devyāḥ tat kāmakoṭṭasthitam
āstitāyāḥ.

cakāra yadvairivilāsinīnāṁ vanāgnidhūmaṁbaratām
karoti.

12. மேலூர்: (பொன்னேரி தாலுக்கா, செங்கல்பட்டு ஜில்லா)
திருக்காமகொட்டமுடைய திருவிடை நாச்சி
யாருக்கு.⁴

Melur: (Ponneri Taluk, Chinglepet Dist.)

tirukkāmakkoṭṭamuḍaiya tiruviḍainācciyārkkku.

1. *Ibid.*, Part III, Section I, No. 1209, p. 1220.

2. *Ibid.*, Part II, Section II, Nos. 1271-73, pp. 1321-23.

3. *Ibid.*, The work Rājaraḷan Ulā speaks of Chidambaram as 'tirukkāma-
koṭṭamum ṣuṭṭumāligaiyum.'

4. A. R. No. 139 of 1916.

13. திருச்சத்திமுத்தம் : திருக்காமகொட்டமுடைய நாச்சியார் கீழ்
திக மடவளாகம்.¹

*Tirucchattimuttam : tirukkāmakōṭṭamuḍaiya nācciyār kiṭika maḍava-
lāgam.*

14. இளையாத்தகுடி : காமகொட்ட நாச்சியார்.²

Ilayātaguḍi : kāmakoṭṭa nācciyār.

It is to be specifically noted here that in the *Tevāram* relating to Ālaṅguḍi to which reference has been made earlier, Sambandar refers to the Goddess not merely as *Kāmakoṭi* but as *Kāmakoṭi* of Kacchi. Thus in unmistakable terms he says that the *sanctum* of the Goddess of the local shrine is the seat of the *śakti* manifested by the Goddess of the *Kāmakoṭṭha* of Kāñci.

VI

Silpa texts also speak of the seat of the Goddess as *Kāmakoṭṭha*. For instance, the *śilpa* text *Mānasāra* states :

காமகொட்டவிதி வக்யே (64-1)

kāmakoṭṭavidhiṁ vakṣye (65, 1)

The *Saiva-āgamas* — the *Sūkṣmāgama* and the *Karuṇāgama* refer to the seat of the Goddess as *Kāmakoṭṭha*.

- (i) காமகொட்டவிதி வக்யே ஸ்ருணு த்வம் தத் ப்ரபஹ்ஜன ।

[சூக்ஷ்மாமை சக்திபிரதிஸ்தாகாமகொட்டவிதிபடல:]

kāmakoṭṭavidhiṁ vakṣye śṛṇu tvam tat prabhañjana.

[*Sūkṣmāgama : śaktipraṭiṣṭhā-kāmakoṭi-vidhipaṭala*]

1. A. R. No. 487 of 1908.

2. Kailāsanātha Temple, Ilayātaguḍi.

- (ii) भोगाङ्गमचनं कुर्यात् सर्वसंपत्समुद्दिदम् ।
रात्रौ पूजावसाने तु अर्घ्यामेन कारयेत् ।
मन्दिरस्योत्तरे भागे कामकोष्ठस्य मध्यमे ।

[*करुणागमे योगाङ्गार्चनभागः*]

bhogāṅgamarcanaṁ kuryāt sarvasampatasamuddhidam |

rātrou pūjāvasāne tu ardhyaṁena kārayet ||

mandīrasya uttare bhāge kāmakoṭṭhasya madhyame ||

[*Karuṇāgama : Yogāṅgārcana-bhāga*]

Further, the *Lalitā-Sahasranāma* refers to the Goddess as *Kāmakoṭikā*, [त्रिकूटा कामकोटिका, *trikūṭā kāmakoṭikā*], the *Lalitā-triśatī* as *Kāmakoṭinilayā* [कामेश्वरी कामकोटिनिलया, *kāmeśvarī kāmakoṭinilayā*] and the *Lalitā-aṣṭottara* as *Kāmakoṭi-mahāpadma-piṭhasthā* [कामकोटिमहापद्मपीठस्थायै नमो नमः, *kāmakoṭimahāpadmapiṭhasthāyai namo namaḥ*]. Thus in the three stotras, the abode of the Goddess is referred to as *Kāmakoṭi*.

VII

A reference to this *Kāmakoṭṭa* is found in an inscription in a Jaina centre *Sāttamangalam* which is two and a half miles away from *Vandavāṣi*. It is dated in the 14th century of Pallava Nandivarman II and it records an endowment for the feeding of Jain ascetics. This inscription says that one who violates the terms of that endowment would incur the sin of destroying the *Kāmakoṭṭa* :

.....இவ்வறமு ரோங்காப்

போமாக ; ஒட்டினால் காமக்கொட்ட மழித்த

பாவமாக.....

.....*ivvaramu rongāp*

pōmāha; oṭṭināl kāmakkōṭṭamalitta

pāvamāha.....

From this it is clear that *Kāmakōṭṭa* was held sacred even at the time of Pallava Nandivarman.

VIII

We said earlier that there is a cave (*guhā*) inside the *sanctum* of *Kāmākṣī* temple and Goddess *Kāmākṣī* is present there in the form of the *akāśa* (ether) inside the cave (*guhākāśa*.) This is affirmed by the *Kāncīpurāṇa* and the *Kāmākṣī-vilāsa*.

सखीभिः तत्र संमन्त्र्य प्राप्य काञ्चीपुरं शुभम् ।
तपस्थानं बिलं सूक्ष्मं परमं व्योम तत्स्मृतम् ।

[काञ्चीपुराणे एकत्रिंशोऽध्यायः]

sakhībhiḥ tatra sammantrya prāpya kāñcīpuram śubham |
tapassthānam bilam sūkṣmam paramam vyoma tatsmṛtam ||

[*Kāñcīpurāṇa*, 31.]

अथ तत्र नृपश्रेष्ठ कामकोटिमहीतले ।
सिद्धतीर्थस्य चेशाने तृतीयांशे महाबिलम् ।
तपस्थानं बिलं सूक्ष्मं परमं व्योम तत्स्मृतम् ।
बिलरूपेण वै काम्ब्यां प्रत्यक्षं मोक्षदं परम् ।

[कामाक्षीविलासे एकादशोऽध्यायः]

atha tatra nṛpaśreṣṭha kāmakoṭimahitale |
siddhatīrthasya ceśāne tṛtīyāṁśe mahābīlam ||
tapassthānam bilam sūkṣmam paramam vyoma tatsmṛtam |
bīlārūpeṇa vai kāmbhyāṁ pratyakṣam mokṣadam param ||

[*Kāmākṣīvilāsa*, 11.]

To the north-west of the entrance to this cave, *Kāmākṣī* appears as doing penance, resting one foot on the ground and resting her right hand on her heart. This form is

known as *tapaskāmākṣī*. To her left is seen Goddess *Kāmākṣī* in the sitting posture with a bow of sugarcane in one hand, flower arrows in another, noose in the third, and goad in the fourth.

धनुर्बाणान् पाशं सृणिमपि दधाना करतलैः ।
पुरस्तादास्तां नः पुरमथितुरहो पुरुषिका ।

[सौन्दर्यलहरी, ७]

dhanurbhāṇān pāśam sṛṇimapi dadhānā karatalaiḥ
purastādāstān naḥ puramathiturahō puruṣikā ||

[*Saundaryalaharī*, 7.]

कञ्चन काञ्चीनिलयं करधृतकोदण्डबाणसृणिपाशम् ।
कठिनस्तनभरनम्रं कैवल्यानन्दकन्दमवलम्बे ।

[आर्याशतकम्, २]

kañcana kāñcīnilayaṁ karadhṛtakodaṇḍabāṇasṛṇipāśam |
kaṭīnastanabharanamraṁ kaivalyanandakandamavalambē ||

[*Āryaśataka*, 2.]

There is a *Śrīcakra* consecrated by *Śrī Saṅkarācārya* in front of the Goddess. There are inscriptions which refer to the *Kumbhābhīṣeka* of the *Kāmākṣī* temple in recent centuries and to the refixing firmly of the *śrīcakra* — the original *pīṭha*¹

Thus we see that the same Goddess is present as formless in the ethereal space inside the cave (*bilākāśa*), with a form in the sitting posture and in the form of a

1. *vide* : Datmāñci Narasimhādharī's Inscriptions :

i. *pīṭhīmādyām abhedyām akṛtakṛtamatiḥ śrīṇṣiṁ hādharīndrah*,

No. 350.

ii. *narasimhādharī pīṭhīm ajighaṭat*, No. 349.

Annual Report on Epigraphy, 1954-'55.

yantra in the *śrīcakra*. There is a *dharmastambha* or *jayastambha* in a small *maṇḍapa* situated in front of the *gopura* on the way to the inner *prākāra* from the outer one. Śekkilār, as we have referred to earlier, says that Goddess Kāmākṣī by remaining here, fostered the thirty two virtues mentioned in the scriptures.

முப்பத்தோடிநூற்றாண்டு முன்பு
முப்பத்தோடிநூற்றாண்டு முன்பு

This explains the significance of the names of the Goddess such as *dharmiṇī dharmavardhanī*¹ and the like occurring in the *Lalitāsahasranāma*.

When we go around the *gāyatrīmaṇḍapa* at the Kamākṣī temple, we find Goddess Śyāmalā with a *vīṇā* in Her hand. This form is described in the *Syāmalā-daṇḍaka* of Kālidāsa thus :

माणिक्यवीणामुपललयन्ती
मदालसां मञ्जुलवाश्विलासाम् ।
माहेन्द्रनीलघृतिकोमलाङ्गी
मातङ्गकन्यां मनसा स्मरामि ।

māṇikyavīṇāṃ upalālayantīm
madālasāṃ māñjulavāśvilāsām ।
māhendranīladyutikomalāṅgīm
mātaṅgakanyāṃ manasā smarāmi ॥

To the south of the *sanctum* of the Kāmākṣī temple, there is a shrine which is one of the hundred and eight

1. *Lalitāsahasranāma*, verse, 176.

divyadeśas celebrated by the Ālvārs. The presiding deity of this shrine is known as Kalvar. In the list of the one hundred and eight shrines, Kalvar is referred to as Ādivarāhamūrti.

इस दिव्यदेश के आराध्यदेव आदिवराह भगवान् अङ्गिलैवल्लि लक्ष्मीसमेत वामन विमान में पश्चिमामिमुख खड़े हुए हैं। कामाक्षीदेवी के मन्दिर में एक ओर दर्शन दे रहे हैं। इनका साक्षात्कार अश्वत्थनारायण ने और मङ्गलाशासन संत परकाल ने किया है। यह दिव्यदेश और इसकी नित्यपुष्करिणी अब लुप्त हैं।

is divyades ke arādhyadev ādivarāh bhagavān añjilaivalli lakṣmīsameta
vāman vimān mem paścimābhimukh khāḍe huye | kāmākṣīdevī ke mandir meñ
ek or darśan de rahe haiñ. | inkā sākṣātkār aṣvatthanārāyaṇ ne aur
mañgalāsāsan samt parakāl ne kiya hai. ! Yah divyades aur iskt nityapuṣkariñī
adya lupta hai |

When Lakṣmidevī was complaining about her husband—Viṣṇu to Goddess Kāmākṣī, Viṣṇu overheard this talk and thus came to be known as Kalvar. To the north of this *sanctum* there is the *mūrti* of Goddess Lakṣmī as affected by the curse of Lord Viṣṇu. This *mūrti* is known as *arūṇalakṣmī*. It is customary for devotees to offer the *kumkum* received as *prasāda* of Goddess Kāmākṣī at the feet of *arūṇalakṣmī* and then to take it reverently for their use.

x

Thus as Goddess Kamākṣī has withdrawn her powers into the *bilākāśā* there is no separate *sanctum* for the Goddess in any of the Śiva temples in Kāñcī. This we know only from *Kāñcī-sthala-purāṇa* and *Kāmākṣī-Vilāsa*. If these two

1. *vide*: *Tirthāṅk*, Annual Number of Kalyan for the year 1957. p.92.

works are not handed down to posterity, one cannot explain the millennium-old temple construction scheme without a *sanctum* for Goddess in any of the Śiva temples within the city limits of *Kāñcī*. The *Ālaṅguḍi Tēvāram* of Sambandar which refers to the seat of Goddess in the Śiva temple at *Ālaṅguḍi* as *kacchimūdūr kāmakoṣṭhi* makes it clear that the seats of the Goddess in all the Śiva temples are referred to as *Kāmakoṣṭha* because of *śakti* of the Goddess there has emanated from the *bilākāśa* of the *Kāmakoṣṭha* at *Kāñcī*.

Those who are not able to have a *darśan* of this holy *Kāmakoṣṭha* could daily recite the following verses while taking bath.

तस्मादवश्यं कर्तव्यं कामकोष्ठस्य दर्शनम् ।
न चेक्षित्वं स्नानकाले श्लोकानेतान् पठेन्नरः ।
खामिपुष्करिणीतीर्थं पूर्वसिन्धुः पिनाकिनी ।
शिलाह्रदश्चतुर्मध्यं यावत्तुण्डीरमण्डलम् ।
मध्ये तुण्डीरभूवृत्तं कम्पा वेगवती द्वयोः ।
तयोर्मध्ये कामकोष्ठं कामाक्षी¹ तत्र वर्तते ॥

1. It is contended that the idol of Kāmākṣī was originally of the form of Buddhist Tārā Devī and that it was fashioned after the *dhyāna*-śloka of *Śrī-Vidyā*. It is also contended that the *Soarṇa* Kāmākṣī may be the Goddess of Jain faith—Dharmadevī. These contentions, however, cannot be upheld ; for, neither the Goddess Tārā of Buddhist faith nor the Dharmadevī of Jain faith has *śṣukodaṇḍa*, *puṣṭabāṇa*, *pāśa* and *aṅkuśa*. It cannot be said that all these weapons are rechistelled out of the idols of the goddess of the Buddhist or Jain faith ; for, a new *mūrti* could easily be sculptured instead of rechistelling the idols of goddess of Buddhist or Jain faith into that of Kāmākṣī. Even admitting for the sake of argument that the idol of Kāmākṣī is the rechistelled form of Tārā, yet it should be noted that Tārā is the Goddess referred to in the *Śrīvidyāmāyā*.

स एव विग्रहो देव्याः मूलभूतोऽद्विराह भुवः ।
नान्यौऽस्ति विग्रहो देव्याः काञ्च्यां तन्मूलविग्रहः ॥

जगत्कामकलाकारं नामिस्थानं भुवः परम् ।
पादपद्मस्य कामाक्ष्याः महापीठं उपास्यते ॥

कामकोटिस्त्वृतस्सोयं कारणादेव विग्रहः ।
यत्र कामकृतो धर्मो जन्तुना येन केन वा ॥

सकृद्वापि सुधर्माणां फलं फलति कोटिः ।
यो जपेत् कामकोष्ठेऽस्मिन् मन्त्रमिष्टार्थदैवतम् ।

कोटिवर्णफलेनैव मुक्तिलोकं स गच्छति ।
यो जपेत् कामकोष्ठेऽस्मिन् क्षणार्धं वा तदर्थकम् ॥

मुच्यते सर्वपापेभ्यः साक्षात् देवी नराकृतिः ।
गायत्रीमण्डपाचारं भूनामिस्थानमुत्तमम् ॥

पुरुषार्थप्रदं शम्भोः बिलाभं तक्षमाभ्यहम् ।
यः कुर्यात् कामकोष्ठस्य बिलाभस्य प्रदक्षिणम् ॥

पदसंख्याक्रमेणैव गोगर्भजननं लभेत् ।
विश्वकारणेनैवाढ्यां श्रीमत्त्रिपुरसुन्दरीम् ॥

मण्डकासुरसंहारी कामाक्षी तामहं भजे ।
पराजन्मदिने काञ्च्यां महाभ्यन्तरमार्गतः ॥

योऽर्चयेत् तत्र कामाक्षीं कोटिपूजाफलं लभेत् ।
तत्फलोत्पन्नैकैवल्यं सकृत्कामाक्षिसेवया ॥

त्रिस्थाननिलये देवं त्रिविधाकारमच्युतम् ।
पतिलिङ्गायसंयुक्तं भूतबन्धं तमाश्रये ॥

tasmāt avaśyam kartavyam kāmakoṣṭhasya darśanam ।
na cennityam snānakāle ślokānetān paṣhennaraḥ ॥

svāmipuṣkarinīrtham pūrvasindhuh pinākinī |
 śilāhradaścaturmadhyam yāvat tuṇḍīramanḍalam ||
 madhye tuṇḍīrabhūvṛttam kampāvegavatī dvayoh |
 tayormadhye kamakoṣṭham kāmākṣī tatra vartate ||
 sa eva vighraho devyāḥ mūlabhūto 'drirāṣṭ bhuvah |
 nā'nyosī vighraho devyāḥ kāñcyāḥ tannūlavighrahaḥ ||
 jagatkāmakalākāraḥ nābhīsthānaḥ bhuvah param |
 pādapadmasya kāmākṣyāḥ mahāpīṭhamupāśmahe ||
 kāmakoṣṭissmṛtasso'yaḥ kāraṇādeva cinnabhaḥ |
 yatra kāmakṛto dharmo jantunā ena kena vā ||
 sakṛdvāpi sudharmānām phalaḥ phalati koṭīśah |
 yo jayet kāmakoṣṭhe'smin mantramīṣṭārthadaivatam ||
 koṭivarnaphalenaiva muktilokaḥ sa gacchati |
 yo vaset kāmakoṣṭhe'smin kṣaṇārdham vā tadardhakam ||
 mucyate sarvapāpebhyah sāksāddevī narākṛtiḥ |
 gāyatrīmanḍapādādhāraḥ bhūnābhīsthānamutīamam ||
 puruṣārthapradam śaṁboḥ bilābhraḥ tannamāmyaham |
 yaḥ kuryāt kāmakoṣṭhasya bilābhṛasya pradakṣiṇam ||
 padasaṅkhyākrameṇaiva gogarbhaḥajananaḥ labhet |
 viśvakāraṇanetrādhyāḥ śrīmattṛipurasundarīm ||
 bhaṇḍakāsurasamhartriḥ kāmākṣīḥ tāmaham bhaje |
 parājanmadine kāñcyāḥ mahābhyanṭaramārgataḥ ||
 yo'rcayet tatra kāmākṣīm koṭipūjāphalam labhet |
 tatphalotpannakāivalyaḥ sakṛt kāmākṣisevayā ||
 trīsthānanīlayaḥ devaḥ trīvidhākāramacyutam |
 pratilīṅgāgrasamyuktaḥ bhūtabandham tamāśraye ||

PART TWO

I

Almost all the works dealing with the life of Śrī Saṅkara called Saṅkara-vijayas refer to Śrī Saṅkara getting constructed the temple for Kāmākṣī at Kāñcī and consecrating the śricakra there. The *Mādhaviya-śaṅkara-vijaya* does not refer to Kāmākṣī by name ; yet it states that Śrī Saṅkara after worshipping Rāmanātha at Rāmeśvaram reached Kāñcī, had a temple built there on the pattern of *paravidyāśaraṇa* and replaced the tāntric mode of worship by the vedic mode.

अभिपूज्य स तत्र रामनाथं

सह पाण्ड्यैः स्वशे विधाय चोलान् ।

द्रविडींश्च ततो जगाम काञ्चीं

नगरीं हस्तिगिरेर्नितम्बकाञ्चीम् ॥

[१५—४]

सुरधाम स तत्र कारयित्वा परविद्या [श] (च)रणानुसारि चित्रम् ।

अपवार्य च तान्त्रिकान्ततानीद्भगवत्याः श्रुतिसंमतं सपर्याम् ॥

[१५—५]

*abhipūjya sa tatra rāmanātham saha pāṇḍyaiḥ svavaśe vidhaya colān
draviḍāṁśca tato jagāma kāñcīṁnagariṁ hastigireḥ nitamba Kāñcīm*

[15-4]

*suradhāma sa tatra kārayitvā paravidyā [ś] (c) araṇānusāri citram
apavārya ca tāntrikānatānīt bhagavatyāḥ śruti-sammatāṁ saparyām*

[15-5]

Here *paravidyāśaraṇānusāritram* means according to the *śaraṇa* of *para-vidyā*. The eleventh verse of the *Saundaryalaharī* states *tava-śaraṇa-koṇāḥ pariṇatāḥ*.

Here the reference is to the *koṇas* or angles of *śricakra* which is the seat of *paravidyā*.

The *Cidvilāsiya-śaṅkara-vijaya* says that Śrī Śaṅkara visited Kāñcī and drew and consecrated the *śricakra* with his own hand in the temple of *Kāmākṣī* and ascended the *Sarvajña-pīṭha* there.

कामाक्ष्याः पुरतो देशे श्रीचक्रं स्वयमालिखत् ।

श्रीचक्रपद्माद्वारे तु कामाक्षीं ज्ञानरूपिणीम् ।

प्रतिष्ठापय
.....

आरूरोह अथ सर्वज्ञपीठं देशिकपुङ्गवः ।

kāmākṣyāḥ purato deśe śricakraṁ svayamālikhat

śricakrapaścōdbhāge tu kāmākṣīm jñānarūpiṇīm

*pratiṣṭhāpya
.....*

āruroha atha sarvajñapīṭhaṁ deśikapuṅgavaḥ

The *Anandagiriya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* has been recognised by competent scholars, western as well as Indian, as the most authentic biography of Śrī Śaṅkara. In his monumental Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Monier Williams refers to two other Śaṅkara-Vijayas besides the present one and considers this to be the authentic one.¹ Referring to

1. (i) *Śaṅkara-dig-vijaya*: name of a fanciful account of the controversial exploits of Śaṅkarācārya (q. v) by Madhavācārya (also called *Śaṅkṣepaśaṅkarajaya*).

Professor Wilson's observation regarding the present *Śaṅkara-vijaya*, in his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, K.T. Telang says that 'Professor Wilson was in effect satisfied with the credentials of this work.'¹

In the *Guruvamśa-kāvya*² which purports to give an account of the line of succession of the ācāryas in the Śrīṅgeri Maṭha, the first three chapters are devoted to the life of Śaṅkara. Referring to the lineage of Śrī Śaṅkara, the author observes that this has been described already by great poet-seers (*kavīndraiḥ*). In the commentary to the work, *Guruvamśa-kāvya*, written by the author himself the expression—*by great poet-seers* is explained thus: 'by *Anandagiri* and other great ascetics'. Sadānanda, in his *Śaṅkara-digvijaya-sāra* observes that the biography of Śrī Śaṅkara has already been written by great ascetics (*yativaraiḥ*). And the expression—'by great ascetics' is interpreted in the commentary to mean—'by *Anandagiri* and others.'³

- (ii) *Śaṅkara-vijaya*: [name of Anandagiri's biography of Śaṅkarācārya (recording his controversial victories, as a Vedāntin, over numerous heretics)]

- (iii) *Śaṅkara-vijaya*: name of a fanciful life of Śaṅkarācārya in the form of a dialogue between Cidvilāsa and Vijñānakanda.

A Sanskrit-English Dictionary (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1899), pp. 1054-5.

1. *The Indian Antiquary*, Volume V, (1876), p. 287.
2. This work was composed under the direction of Śrī Saccidānanda Bhārati Svāmi, Head of the Śrīṅgeri Maṭha (1770-1814). and was published by Śrī T.K. Balasubramania Iyer at Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam in the year 1928.
3. See for details, *Śrī Śaṅkara-Vijaya of Anantānandagiri*, Published by the Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy, University of Madras, 1971, pp. i-ii.

In the *Ānandagiriya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* of such great importance, it is said that Śrī Śaṅkara consecrated Kāmākṣī and śricakra at Kāñcī and attained *siddhi* there. It also specifically refers to the fact that Śrī Śaṅkara obtained five *sphaṭika-liṅgas* from Śiva at Kailāsa, established the *Kāmakoṣi-piṭha* at Kāñcī and directed Sureśvara to be in charge of it.

तस्मादद्वयार्गमवलम्ब्य योगविद्याप्राप्तवियत्पथसञ्चारः कैलासमविगम्य पार्वतीसमेते परमेश्वरं प्रणम्य स्वात्मतयानुसन्धानशीलस्य परमगुरोरग्रतः परमेश्वरः पञ्चस्फाटिकलिङ्गानि प्रकाशयामास । केदारक्षेत्रे एकं मुक्तिलिङ्गाख्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य नीलकण्ठक्षेत्रे प्राप्य वरनामकं लिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य (५५) शृङ्गगिरि समीपे तुङ्गभद्रातीरे निजमठं कृत्वा [६२] भोगनामकं लिङ्गं तस्मिन् पीठे निक्षिप्य [६३] तत्रैव [काञ्च्या] निजावासयोग्यं मठमपि परिकल्प्य सुरेश्वरमाहूय योगनामकं लिङ्गं पूजय इति तस्मै दत्त्वा त्वमत कामकोटिपीठमधिवस इति व्यवस्थाप्य [६५] ...

tasmādudāṁmārgamavalambhya yogavidyāprāptaviyatpathasañcaraḥ kailāsamadhigamya pārvatīsametaṁ paramēśvaram praṇamya svātmatayā anusandhānaśīlasya paramaguroragrataḥ parameśvaraḥ pañcasphāṭikaliṅgāni prakāśayāmāsa. kedāra-kṣetre muktīliṅgākhyam pratiṣṭhāpya nīlakaṇṭhakṣetraṁ prāpya varanāmakam liṅgam pratiṣṭhāpya (55th Ch.) śrīṅgagirisamīpe tuṅgabhadra-tīre ni jamaṣṭham kṛtvā (62nd Ch.) bhoganāmakam liṅgam tasmīn piṭhe niṣṭhāpya (63rd Ch.) tatraiva (kāñcīyām) nijāvāsāyogyam maṣṭhamapi parikalpya sureshvaram āhūya yogānamakam liṅgam pūjaya iti tasmai dattvā tuamatra kāmakoṣi-piṭham adhivasa iti vyavasthāpya (65th Ch.)

This work affirms that Śrī Śaṅkara attained *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

..... स्वयं खलोकं गन्तुमिच्छुः काञ्चीनगरे मुक्तिस्थले कदाचिदुपविश्य सर्वजगद्व्यापकरूपचैतन्यमभवत् [७४].

...svayam svalokam gantumicchuḥ kāñcīnagare muktisthale kadācidupaviśya ...sarvajagadyāpakarūpacaitanyamabhavat ... Chapter 74.

The *Jagadguru-pāramparya-stuti*¹ and the *Guruparamparā-stotra* published by Dr Hultzsch in his report on *The Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in South India*² states that Śrī Śaṅkara attained *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

The *Jagadgurupāramparyastuti* and the Hultzsch Manuscript in the first few verses briefly narrate a few events in Śrī Śaṅkara's life. It is stated in the former work that Śrī Śaṅkara reached Kāñcī from the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadra, consecrated Kāmākṣī and attained eternal bliss there.

स्वेच्छया पर्यटन् भूमौ ययौ काञ्चीपुरीं गुरुः ।
तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं देवीं परं अगात् पदम् ।

*sveccayā paryaṭan bhūmau yayau kāñcīpurīm guruḥ
tatra samsthāpya kāmākṣīm devīm paraṁ agāt padam*

This is given in the Hultzsch manuscript with slight variation in phraseology :

अगच्छत् स्वेच्छया काञ्चीं पर्यटन् पृथ्वीतले ।
तत्र संस्थाप्य कामाक्षीं जगाम परमं पदम् ।

*agacchat sveccayā kāñcīm paryaṭan pṛthvītale
tatra samsthāpya kāmākṣīm jagāma paramam padam*

The verse in these two lists thus substantiates the version of the *Ānandagiriya-Śaṅkara-vijaya* that Śrī Śaṅkara attained *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

1. Published by the Seshadri Press, Mysore, 1946.

2. Published by the Government Press, Madras, 1905. See Part III, No. 2146.

The *Patañjali-Carita* by Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita deals with the life of Śaṅkarācārya in the last chapter and concludes by saying that Śaṅkarācārya spent his last days at Kāñcī.¹

गोविन्ददेशिकमुपास्य विराय भक्त्या तस्मिन् स्थिते निजमहिम्नि विदेहमुक्त्वा ।
अद्वैतभाष्यमुपकल्प्य दिशो विजित्य काञ्चीपुरे स्थितिमवाप स शङ्करार्यः ॥

govindadeśikam upāsya cirāya bhaktyā tasmīn sthite nijamahimni videhamuktyā |
advaitabhāṣyamupakalpya diśo vijitya kāñcīpure sthītimavāpa sa śaṅkarāryaḥ ||

Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita in his work *Śaṅkarābhyudaya* states that Śaṅkarācārya during his last days stayed at Kāñcī worshipping Kāmeśvarī on the banks of *Kaṁpā* and attained *siddhi* there.²

कम्पातीरनिवासिनीं अनुदिनं कामेश्वरीमर्चयन् ।
ब्रह्मानन्दमविन्दत त्रिजगतां क्षेमद्वरः शङ्करः ॥

kaṁpātīranivāsiniṁ anudinaṁ kāmēśvarīṁ arcayan |
brahmānandamavindata trijagatāṁ kṣemaṅkarāḥ śaṅkarāḥ ||

The great *Itihāsa-Sīvarahasya* consists of more than fifty thousand verses. It was published in Canarese script with Kannada translation in the Maharaja Jayachamarajendra Granthamala Series, as volume No. 32 in the year 1950 in thirty volumes. It is referred to as an authority in the *Dharmaśāstra* work *Nirṇaya-Sindhu*. Manuscript copies of this work are available in many private and public libraries including the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Adyar Library, Oriental Library, Baroda and Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore.

1. Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita: *Patañjali-Carita*, (Kāvyaṁālā Series, No. 51 Nirṇaya Sagaḥ Press, Bombay), VIII, 71.

2. *Śaṅkṛdaya Sathpuṭa* IV, *Saṅkīkā*, X, p. 240. Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

The 16th chapter of the 9th *aṁśa* of this work refers to the life and work of Śaṅkarācārya. Towards the end of this chapter, it is said that Śaṅkarācārya worshipped the five *sphaṭika-līṅgas* brought from Kailāsa and attained *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

तद्योगभोगवरमुक्तिसुमोक्षयोग-लिङ्गाचनान्नात्प्राप्तयस्वकाश्रयम् ।

तान्वै विजित्य तरसाऽक्षतशास्त्रवादैः मिश्रान् स काञ्चयामथ सिद्धिमवाप ॥

tadyogabhogavaramuktisumokṣayoga-līṅgārcanāt prāptajayaḥ svakāśrayam |
tān vai vijitya tarasā akṣataśāstravādaiḥ miśrān sa kāñcyām atha siddhimāpa ||

This portion is quoted verbatim in the commentary *Advaita-rājya-lakṣmī* on verse 103 of the 16th Chapter of the *Mādhavīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya*. Thus the *Sīvarahasya* which is an independent work corroborates the story of Śaṅkarācārya attaining *siddhi* at Kāñcī.

Another work entitled *Mārkaṇḍeya-Saṁhitā* contains particulars about the life of Śaṅkarācārya. The 7th and the 8th sections (*parispandas*) of the 72nd Chapter of this work give an account of the life of Śaṅkarācārya. It is stated therein that five *sphaṭika-līṅgas* were obtained by Śaṅkarācārya from Lord Śiva. It also mentions the various places where Śaṅkarācārya installed them, namely, the *Mokṣa-līṅga* at Cidambāram, the *Mukti-līṅga* at Kedāra, the *Vara-līṅga* at Nīlakaṇṭhakṣetra, the *Bhoga-līṅga* at Śrīṅgeri, and the *Yoga-līṅga* at Kāñcī. This work further mentions that Śaṅkarācārya consecrated the *Śricakra* at the Kāmākṣī temple, established the *Kāmakṣī-pīṭha* at Kāñcī, installed Sureśvara as the head of that *pīṭha* and attained *siddhi* there.

गत्वा कैलासशैलं जगदखिलगुरुः शङ्कराचार्ययोगी
 दृष्ट्वा साम्बं शिवं तं स्वयमिति सुचिरं चिन्तयन्नन्तरङ्गे ।
 लब्ध्वा पञ्चात्मलिङ्गान्यमलतरशुभालिङ्गितान्यङ्गमांजं
 भूतयै सौन्दर्यसारं हिमगिरिदुहितुः प्रापयन् गामयासीत् ॥
 काञ्च्यां श्रीकामकोटीं कलिमलशमनीं कल्पयित्वा सुरेशे
 श्रीविद्याराजपीठार्चनमहितमहाराज्यसाम्राज्यलक्ष्मीम् ।
 सवेण्यात्मीयशिष्ये सकलभुवनसमोदहेतोर्महात्मा
 विद्रूपस्नानभूतिं भजति भवमहामोघिसन्तारणाय ॥
 शिवलिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य विदम्बरसभातले ।
 मोक्षदं सर्वजन्तूनां भुवनत्रयसुन्दरम् ॥
 वैदिकान् दीक्षितान् शुद्धान् शैवसिद्धान्तपारगान् ।
 पूजार्थं युयुजे शिष्यान् पुण्यारण्यविहारिणः ॥
 मुक्तिलिङ्गं तु केदारे नीलकण्ठे वरेश्वरम् ।
 प्रतिष्ठाप्य महायोगी परां प्रीतिमवाप सः ॥
 काञ्च्यां श्रीकामकोटीं तु योगलिङ्गमनुत्तमम् ।
 प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुरेशार्थं पूजार्थं युयुजे गुरुः ॥
 श्रीशङ्कराचार्ययोगी शृङ्गगिरिस्थानमगमदखिलेशः ।
 श्रीशारदाख्यपीठे शिवलिङ्गं भोगनामकं चक्रे ॥

[मार्कण्डेयसंहिता—७२/७/१०—१६]

gatvā kailāśasailm jagadakhilaguruḥ śaṅkarācāryayogī
 dr̥ṣṭvā sām̐bām śivam̐ tam̐ svayam̐iti suciram̐ cintayannantarāṅge
 labdhvā pañcātmaliṅgānyamalatarasubhāliṅgitānyaṅgabhājām̐
 bhūtyai saundaryasāram̐ himagiriduhituh̐ prāpayan̐ gāmayāsīt

kāñcīyām̐ śrī kāmakoṭīm̐ kalimalasāmanīm̐ kalpayitvā sureśe
 śrīvidyārājapīṭhārcanamahitamahārājyasāmrājyalakṣmīm̐ ।
 saṁveśyātmiyāśiṣye sakalabhuvanasammodahetormahātmā
 cidrūpasvānubhūtiṁ bhajati bhavamahāmbhodhisantāraṇāya ॥

śivaliṅgam̐ pratisthāpya cidambarasabhātale ।
 mokṣadam̐ sarvajantūnām̐ bhuvanatrayasundaram̐ ॥
 vaidikān̐ dīkṣitān̐ śuddhān̐ śaivasiddhāntapāragān̐ ।
 pūjārtham̐ yuyuje śiṣyān̐ puṇyāraṇyavihārīṇaḥ ॥
 muktīliṅgam̐ tu kedāre nīlakaṇṭhe vareśvaram̐ ।
 pratisthāpya mahāyogī parām̐ prītimavāpa saḥ ॥
 kāñcīyām̐ śrī kāmakoṭau tu yogaliṅgamanuttamam̐ ।
 pratisthāpya sureśāryam̐ pūjārtham̐ yuyuje guruḥ ॥
 śrī śaṅkarācāryayogī śrīṅgagiriṣṭhānamagamadakhileśaḥ ।
 śrī śāradaḥkhyapīṭhe śivaliṅgam̐ bhogaṇāmakaṁ cakre ॥

[Mārkaṇḍeya—sāṁhitā, 72/7/10-16.]

श्रीदेशिकः पद्मपदं स्वशिष्यं पाखण्डखण्डार्थमतिप्रचण्डम् ।
 शृङ्गाद्विदेशे श्रिततुङ्गभद्रे नियोजयामास स शङ्करार्यः ॥
 सुरेश्वराचार्यवरं स्वशिष्यं काञ्चीपुरीसुन्दरकामकोटी ।
 श्रीचन्द्रमौलीश्वरपूजनार्थं नियोज्य चक्रेऽस्य धराधिपत्यम् ॥

[मार्कण्डेयसंहिता—७३/७/१—२]

śrī deśikaḥ padmapadam̐ svasiṣyam̐
 pākhaṇḍakhaṇḍārthamatipracandam̐ ।
 śrīṅgādrīdeśe śritatuṅgabhadre
 niyojyām̐asa sa śaṅkarāryaḥ ॥

sureśvarācāryavarām̐ svasiṣyam̐
 kāñcīpurī-sundara-kāmakoṭau ।
 śrīcandramaulīśvarapūjanārtham̐
 niyojya cakre asya dharādhipatyam̐ ॥

[ibid, 73/7/1-2.]

All these go to prove that Śaṅkarācārya established the Kāmakoṭi-pīṭha at Kāñcī and attained *siddhi* there. But

various other places have been mentioned as the *siddhisthala* of Śrī Śaṅkara. And we shall now deal with this point in some detail.

The *Guruvamśa-kāvya* referred to earlier holds Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkara-vijaya* as the authentic biography of Śaṅkarācārya. But as regards the *siddhisthala* of Śaṅkarācārya the *Guruvamśa-kāvya* differs from the tradition recorded in the Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkara-vijaya*, namely, that Śaṅkarācārya's *siddhisthala* is Kāñcī. The *Guruvamśa-kāvya* while dealing with the last days of Śaṅkarācārya says:

मत्वा यतीन्द्रः कृतकृत्यभावे महत्समाभरणमाप्तुकामः ।
स्वच्छन्दचारी मुनिराजदत्तात्रेयस्य रम्याश्रममाजगाम ।
औकं समस्तान्यपि पुस्तकानि शिष्यान् समस्तानपि तानमुद्धम् ।
आस्तामिमौ दण्डकमण्डलं चेत्यालोच्य तत्याज स तौ च योगी ।
दण्डो द्रुमेण सपर्यणसीतोयार्तमना चाम्बु कमण्डलुस्थम् ।
महात्मनो हस्तपरिग्रहेण जडौ च तौ सार्थतन् अभूताम् ।
दत्तात्रेयं भुवनविनुतं वीक्ष्य नत्वा न्यगादी—
द्वृत्तं स्त्रीयं सकलमपि तान् प्रेषितान् दिक्षु शिष्यान् ।
सोऽपि श्रुत्वा मुनिपतिरदादाशिषो विश्वरूपा-
चार्यादिभ्यो सुखमवसतां तत्र तौ भाषमाणौ ।

matvā yatīndrah kṛtakṛtyabhāvaḥ
mahat samābhāṣaṇamāptukāmaḥ ।
svacchandacārī munirājadattā-
treyaśya ramyāśramam ājagāma ॥
aukaṁ samastānyapi pustakāni
śiṣyān samasthānyapi tān amuñcam ।
āstāmimau daṇḍakamaṇḍalū cet-
yālocyā tatyāja sa tau ca yogī ॥

daṇḍo drurūpeṇa sa paryāṇamsīt
tirthātmanā cāmbu kamaṇḍalustham ।
mahātmano hastaparigraheṇa
jaḍau ca tau sārthatanū abhūtām ॥
dattātreyaḥ bhuvanavinutam vīkṣya natvā nyagādīt
vṛttam stṛīyam sakalamapi tān preṣitān dikṣu śiṣyān ।
sopi śrutoḥ munipatiradādāśiṣo viśvarūpā-
cāryadibhyo sukhamasatām tatra tau bhāṣamāṇau

(III, 67-70)

Śaṅkarācārya towards the close of his career went from Siddheśvara in Nepal to Dattātreya-Āśrama, left his *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* which respectively became a tree and a tank, stayed at the *Dattātreya āśrama* at Mahuripuri conversing with Śrī Dattātreya.

The commentary on the above says:

सोऽपि—दत्तात्रेयोऽपि मुनिपतिः विश्वरूपाचार्यादिभ्यो आशिषः अदात्—दत्तवान् ।
तत्र—माहुरिपुरे, भाषमाणौ—सलपन्तौ तौ दत्तात्रेयशङ्कराचार्यौ विरं—बहुकालं अवस-
ताम्—उषितवन्तौ ।

sopi-dattātreyopi munipatiḥ viśvarūpācāryādibhyo āśiṣaḥ adāt-dattavān.
tatra mahūrīpure, bhāṣamāṇau-samlapantau tau-dattātreya śaṅkarācāryau
ciram-bahukālāḥ avasatām-uṣitavantau.

This Mahuripuri is referred to in the *Tirthāṅka* which has a shrine of Dattātreya.¹

मध्यरेल्वे की मुसावल नागपूर लैन पर मूर्तिजापूर स्टेशन है । वहां से एक लैन यवतमाल तक जाती है । यवतमाल से माहुरक्षेत्र समीप है । माहुरक्षेत्र में अन-सूपादत्त पर्वत पर महर्षि जमदग्नि कि समाधि है । रेणुकादेवी का मन्दिर है । और परशुराम कुण्ड है । कहा जाता है कि भगवान् दत्तात्रेय का आश्रम यहीं था । दत्तात्रेय

जी जमदग्नि ऋषि के गुरु थे। गुरु की आज्ञा से महर्षि जमदग्नि अपनी पत्नी रेणुकादेवी के साथ यहां आये और यहीं उन्होंने ने तथा रेणुका जी ने समाधि लि। किले के भीतर महाकाली का मन्दिर तथा सरोवर है।

madhyareloe ki bhusāval nāgpur lain par mūrtijāpūr steśan hai. vahām se ek lain yavatmāl tak jāti hai. yavatmāl se mähūrketra samīp hai. mähūrketra meñ auasūyādattaparvat par maharṣi jamadagni ki samādhi hai. reṇukā devī kā mandir hai. aur paraśurām kuṇḍa hai. kahā jātā hai bhagavān dattātreyā kā āśrama yahim thā. dattātrayaṇi jamadagniṣi ke guru the. guru ki ājñā se maharṣi jamadagni apni patnī reṇukā devī ke sāt yahām āye aur yahim unhom ne tathā reṇukā ji ne samādhi li. kile ke bhītar mahākālī ka mandir tathā sarovar hai.

पारिकाङ्क्षीश्वरोऽपि आपदुद्धारकं सेवमानातुल्यस्तिविस्तारकम् ।

पापदावानलातापसेहारकं योगिवृन्दाधिपः प्राप केदारकम् । [९६—१००]

*pārikāṅkṣīśvaro'pi āpaduddhārakam
sevamānātulasvastivistārakam |
pāpadāvānalātāpasāmhārakam
yogivṛndadhīpaḥ prāpa kedārakam ||*

(16-100)

The *Cidvilāsiya-Saṅkara-Vijaya* reads as follows :

वितन्वन् बदरीं प्राप तपोदानकृताश्रयाम् ।

दिनानि कतिचित् तत्र स्वच्छन्दमवसत् सुखी । [३१—२५]

इत्युक्त्वा रङ्गराचार्यकरपल्लवमादरात् ।

अवलम्ब्य करायेण दत्तात्रेयस्य तापसः ।

प्रविवेश गुहाद्वारं दत्त्वाऽऽज्ञां जनसन्ततेः ।

क्रमात् जगाम कैलासं प्रमथैः परिवेष्टितम् । [३१—४८, ९४]

vitānvan badarīm prāpa tapodānakṛtāśrayam |

dināni katicit tatra svacchandam avasat sukhi ||

(31-25)

ityuktvā Saṅkarācāryakarapallavam ādarāt |

avalambya karāgreṇa dattātreyas sa tāpasah ||

praviveśa guhādvaram dattvā ājñam janasantateḥ |

kramāt jagāma kailāsam pramathaiḥ pariveṣṭitam ||

(31-48, 49).

As regards the place where Saṅkarācārya spent his last days, the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* does not follow either the *Mādhaviya-Saṅkara-Vijaya* which is regarded now-a-days as the authentic biography of Saṅkara by the authorities of the *maṭha* on the banks of the river *Tuṅgā* and which mentions Kedārnāth as Saṅkarācārya's last resort or *Cidvilāsiya-Saṅkara-Vijaya* which refers to the *Dattātreyā-guhā* in Badari as the last resort of Saṅkarācārya.

We can infer from this discussion either that the *Mādhaviya* and the *Cidvilāsiya-Saṅkara-Vijaya* did not exist when the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* was composed; or, that if they existed the authorities of the *maṭha* on the banks of the river *Tuṅgā* were not aware of their existence when they directed the composition of the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya*.

The tradition recorded in all the versions of Ānandagiri's *Saṅkara-Vijaya* regarding the final resort of Saṅkarācārya has not been followed by the author of the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* although he considers Ānandagiri to be the most renowned biographer of Saṅkarācārya. The alteration in the *Guruvaṁśa-kāvya* that the place of final resort of Saṅkarācārya's was Mahuripuri which is noted for its shrine of Dattātreyā might have paved the way for Cidvilāsa to make a further alteration as regards the place of Saṅkarācārya's last resort to a cave in Badari regarded as the abode of Dattātreyā.

Thus for one reason or the other the place of Śaṅkarācārya's last resort was changed from place to place, namely, from Kāñcī to Mahuripuri and from there to Badarī and then to Kedārnāth. The latest alteration is to Kashmir found in a work on the life of Śaṅkarācārya in verse form in Sanskrit published under the auspices of the Dvāraka maṭha by one Srinivasa Alaya of South Canara, in whose opinion alterations in the details of any hero's life are not wrong, provided they do not lower the dignity of the hero. Although he mentions Kashmir as the place of final resort of Śaṅkarācārya, he declares in the preface to his work that he follows the *Madhāvīya-Śaṅkara-Vijaya*, which, on the other hand, mentions Kedārnāth as the place of final resort.

Dr S. K. Belvalkar referring to Śaṅkarācārya's *siddhisthala* says: 'according to one set of traditions Kāñcī in the South of India is given as the place where the ācārya breathed his last. According to other sources, he died at Badrikāśrama disappearing in a cave in the Himalayas. The weight of probability belongs to the first view'.¹

1- Gopal Basu Mallick Lectures on *Vedānta Philosophy*, p. 240.

vide also: काशीपुर एक प्राचीन महातीर्थ है। केवल तीर्थ ही नहीं, काशी महापीठ स्थान है। शिवकांची स्थित एकाम्नाथ नामक महादेव का आदिलिङ्ग, भगवती कामाक्षी देवी की मूर्ति, भगवान् शङ्कराचार्य की प्रतिमा एवं समाधिस्थल कामाक्षी देवी का मन्दिर कुछ छोटा है। इसी के प्राङ्गण में भगवान् शङ्कराचार्य की समाधि है। इसी समाधि पर उनकी प्रस्तरमयी मूर्ति प्रतिष्ठित है।

(हिन्दी विश्वकोश Vol. IV, पृष्ठ-336.)

We may substantiate the above observation by referring to the letter dated 6—7—1958 from Sri Sampurnanand, the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh to Dr T. N. Ramachandran, Retired Joint Director of Archeology, Government of India which is as follows: 'there is nothing new to prove that Śrī Śaṅkarācārya died at this spot (Kedārnāth). All that tradition says is that he came to Kedārnāth and in the modern phraseology disappeared thereafter. So what is called a *samādhi* is not a *samādhi* but a memorial'.

The letter of Svami Sahajananda of Guruvayur written from Badrināth and published in 'The Hindu' dated 19—6—1959 is as follows: 'On enquiry from the Joshi Mutt they say that it is only a *saṅkalpa samādhi* and that the *actual samādhi* is not on the spot'.

We shall conclude this section by pointing out that on the basis of the several texts cited in the earlier section and the two letters referred to above the traditional belief of all the followers of Śaṅkarācārya has been that Śaṅkarācārya's last days were spent at Kāñcī.

III

In order to preserve and propagate the Advaitic tradition for the benefit of posterity Śaṅkarācārya established several monastic institutions all over India. The texts dealing with the Śāṅkarite Institutions are known as *Maṭhāmnāyas*; and, they are:

- (1) *Śaṅkarācārya-jagadguru-maṭhāmnāya*, printed by B. Mishra at the Balabhadra Press, Purī and published by Pandit Yōgendra Ashtavadhana Sarma in 1930;
- (2) *Unpublished Upaniṣads*, printed and published by the Adyar Library in 1937;
- (3) *Śāṅkaragranthāvalī* in Bengali script published by Rajendranath Ghosh;
- (4) *Yatisandhyāsamuccaya* published by the Dvārakā-piṭha in 1967;
- (5) *Maṭhāmnāya* published by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

Apart from these, there are manuscript copies of the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts in the Oriental Institute, Mysore and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. These texts give information about the various Śāṅkarite Institutions for the western region (*paścimāmnāya*), eastern region (*pūrvāmnāya*), southern region (*dakṣiṇāmnāya*), northern region (*uttarāmnāya*) and other super-regions (*ūrdhvāmnāya*). A *maṭhāmnāya* text besides other particulars gives information about the *śakti*, the *devatā*, and the *kṣetra* of each *maṭha* of an *āmnāya*, that is, a particular region. All the above mentioned texts, except the one published by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, speak of the *śakti* of the southern region as Goddess Kāmākṣī. The one published by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam mentions the *śakti* of the southern region not as Kāmākṣī but as Śārādā. The deity worshipped in the Śrīṅgeri-*maṭha* is referred to by that

maṭha as Śārādā-Candramaulīśvara. But Śārādā is the *śakti* of Brahmā and the sister of Candramaulīśvara.¹

We must now enquire into the reason for the discrepancy between the readings of the *Maṭhāmnāya* published by the Vani Vilas Press, and the many other *Maṭhāmnāyas* referred to above. And this requires a consideration of a view that Śrī Śaṅkara established four *maṭhas* in the four corners of India.

We find the institutions for the Northern, Western and the Eastern regions are situated in the respective corners of India. The institution for the southern region, according to a work—*The Greatness of Sringeri* is at Śrīṅgeri on the banks of *Tuṅgā* which, however, is situated only in the North-West portion of South India and not in the southern corner of India. As regards this, Sri Mahadeva Rajaram Bodas of Bombay observes in his work *Śaṅkarācārya* in Marathi thus: "We can say that the four mutts were established at four *dhāms*; but we see that neither the institution at Śrīṅgeri nor the one at Kāñci is at a *dhām* (corner). They are in the centre of the country. The institution should have been either at Rāmeśvaram or at Kapyākumāri."²

It is very interesting to note that all the *maṭhāmnāya* texts mentioned above uniformly describe the *kṣetra* of the *maṭhas* in the four corners (*cār dhāms*), that is, Dvārakā

1. *Sarasvatī-aṣṭottara-nāmāvalī*: (i) *brahmajdyāyai namaḥ*
(ii) *śivānujdyāyai namaḥ*

2. Sri Mahadeva Rajaram Bodas: *Śaṅkarācārya*, (Jagathitecchu Press, Poona, 1923), p. 49.

in the West, Badarī in the North, Purī (Jagannāth) in the East, and Rāmeśvaram in the South. From this we can conclude that Śrī Saṅkara had in his mind the idea of establishing Maṭhas in the four corners generally known as *cār-dhams*, that is, Dvārakā in the West, Badarī in the North, Jagannāth in the East, and Rāmnāth or Rāmeśvaram in the South. But we now have two popular Śāṅkarite institutions in the south—one in the Mysore region in the North-West portion of the Southern India and the other still further South in Kāñcī. The *pīṭha-śakti* of the former is Śāradā according to the *maṭhāmnyāya* version of the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, while that of the latter is Kāmākṣī, that is, Kāmakoṭi.¹

Now the question arises as to the existence of two Śāṅkarite Institutions in South India, one in the North-West corner of South India and the other further South at Kāñcī. As regards the Śāṅkarite Institution in the North-west, a serious difficulty arises: In all the maṭhas in the Ceded districts and in Mysore bearing the names of Śrīṅgeri like the Virūpākṣa-Śrīṅgeri, the Puṣpagiri-Śrīṅgeri, the Āvani-Śrīṅgeri, the Sivagaṅgā-Śrīṅgeri, and the Karavirmutt Śrīṅgeri in the Maharashtra region², the

1. The aspect of Śāradā is quite different from Kāmākṣī. In the *Lalitā-sahasra-nāma*, the two names of Kāmākṣī (23) and Kāmakoṭikā (118) appear as synonyms of Lalitā. But Śāradā is referred to in the *Sahasranāma* as worshipping Lalitā equated with Kāmākṣī or Kāmakoṭi.

In the *Lalitā-triṣaṭī*, Śāradā is described as waving *cāmara* for Lalitā.

2. It is more likely that Vidyāraṇya who was the head of the Śāṅkarite Institution on the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadra would have shifted the headquarters

preamble to Śrīmukha include the epithet *Tuṅga-bhadrā-tīravasī*—one who dwells on the banks of the river *Tuṅga-bhadrā*.

But the institution - Śrīṅgeri on the banks of the *Tuṅgā* also has the appellation *Tuṅgabhadra-tīra-vāsī* which it cannot have. Our inquiry, hereafter, therefore, would centre around two vital questions, namely, (i) the existence of two maṭhas in the Southern region of India—one in the North-western portion and another still further South at Kāñcī; and (ii) the existence of two institutions bearing the name of Śrīṅgeri in the North-Western portion itself - one on the banks of the river *Tuṅgā* and the other on the confluence of *Tuṅgā* and *Bhadrā* and thus really on the *Tuṅga-bhadrā-tīra*.

Enquiries made from the people of Mysore revealed the existence of a tradition that Śrī Śāradā (Sarasavāṇī) after the defeat of Maṇḍanamīśra decided to ascend to Brahma-loka when Śrī Saṅkara bound her by *Vanadurgā-mantra* and besought her to follow him till he installed her *śakti* in this *loka* itself for bestowing her grace on aspirants for knowledge. She agreed to follow him on the condition that he

of that Institution to Śrīṅgeri on the banks of the river *Tuṅgā* and constructed temples for Vidyātirtha and Śāradā there. Further, Vidyāraṇya would have invoked the blessings of Goddess Śāradā that She should manifest her *sānnidhya* at Śrīṅgeri on the *Tuṅgātīra* on the occasion of *Navarātri*. It is only thus that one could explain the tradition current in the Kāñcī region that the *sānnidhya* of Śāradā is manifested in the temple at Śrīṅgeri on the *Tuṅgātīra* on the occasion of *Navarātri*. Vidyāraṇya left such a deep impress on the Śāṅkarite Institution at Śrīṅgeri on the banks of the river *Tuṅgā* to which he had shifted the headquarters of the original Śāṅkarite Institution on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadra* that later sub-divisions of the original Śāṅkarite Institution on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadra* have the word *Śrīṅgeri* affixed to their Institutions such as *Avani-Śrīṅgeri*, etc.

did not look back while she was following him. While they were crossing the confluence of the *Tuṅgā* and the *Bhadrā*, the sounds of Śrī Sārada's anklets were not heard by Śrī Saṅkara as her feet were imbedded in the sands at the confluence of *Tuṅga-Bhadrā*. Not hearing the sound of anklets, Śrī Saṅkara looked back. Śrī Sārada then reminded him of his promise not to look back and said that she would not proceed any further but would stay at that place itself. Śrī Saṅkara therefore installed Śrī Sārada there itself consecrating Her in the temple, and arranged for an institution there with a line of succession for her worship. This accounts for the springing up of an additional but accidental Śāṅkarite institution in North-West portion of Karnāṭaka and for the inclusion of the epithet *Tuṅgabhadra-tīravāsī* in the preambles to the Śrīmukha of that institution and all its sub-divisions. This tradition is also mentioned in some form or other by many authors in their works. It is current in Karnāṭaka country and is recorded by Sri B. Surya Narain Rao, M.R.A.S. in his brochure *The History of Sivaganga Mutt*. This tradition furnishes an explanation for a *maṭha* in the Karnataka-Maharashtra border for the *pūjā* of Sārada-Devī deviating from the principle of establishing mutts at four corners or four dhāms. The institution on the banks of the *Tuṅgā* river should also be a sub-division of the Institution on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadra*. The institution on the banks of the *Tuṅgabhadra* consequent on its sub-divisions in different times led to many Śāṅkarite institutions with the epithet of *Tuṅgabhadra-tīravāsī* and with Sārada as the main deity worshipped.

Thus an accidental event led to the establishment of an institution on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadra* with Sārada as the *śakti*. All the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts except the text of the Vani Vilas Press already referred to enumerate only four *śaktis*, namely, Bhadrakālī, Pūrṇagiri, Vimalā, and Kāmākṣī. An institution for a region requires three main factors: a *śakti*, a *devatā*, and a *kṣetra*. Pūrṇagiri as the *śakti*, Badrināth as the *devatā*, and Badari as the *kṣetra* constitute the institution of the northern region (*uttarāmnāya*); Vimalā as the *śakti*, Jagannātha as the *devatā*, and Puri as the *kṣetra* constitute the institution of the eastern region (*pūrvāmnāya*); Bhadrakālī as the *śakti*, Siddheśvara as the *devatā*, and Dvāraka as the *kṣetra* constitute the institution of the Western region (*paścimāmnāya*). We have earlier said that the *kṣetra* of the institution for the southern region is Rāmeśvaram and *śakti* is Goddess Kāmākṣī. This we know from all the *Maṭhāmnāya* texts excepting the text of Vani Vilas Press. All these texts refer to the *devatā* of the institution for the southern region as *Ādivarāha*, popularly known as *kaḷvar*. This figure we find in a niche of Śrī Kāmākṣī temple outside the southern wall of the *sanctum sanctorum*.¹ Śāṅkarācārya thus established the *maṭha* for the southern region by linking Rāmeśvaram situated in the extreme south with Kāñci which is the *mokṣapurī*, and which is the seat of both Kāmākṣī and *Ādivarāha*—the *śakti* and the *devatā* of the institution for the southern region.

1. See *Tīrthāṅka*—Annual No. of Kalyan for the year 1957, p. 92.

Thus the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadra* also became a seat of an institution because of the accidental stay of *Sarasavāṇī*—the wife of *Maṇḍanamiśra*, there. This is how we can meet the problem confronting Mr Bodas according to the Marathi quotation already referred to. But it is yet a puzzle how *Śrīṅgeri* got a place in the *Maṭhāmnāya* structure.

All the *Śāṅkarite* Institutions in the Mysore state and Ceded Districts have the epithet *tuṅgabhadra-tīravāsī* and *Karnāṭaka-siṃhāsana-pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* in the preamble to epistles being issued, that is, *Śrīmukhas*. The expression *Karnāṭaka-siṃhāsana-pratiṣṭhāpanācārya* refers to *Vidyāraṇya*—the reputed founder of *Vijayanagara* Empire. In the seals of most of these institutions the name of *Vidyāśaṅkara* is also embossed. The epithets of the *śrīmukhas* of all the institutions usually allude to the founders of the respective institutions. And a reference to *Vidyāraṇya* stabilizing the *Virūpākṣa* maṭha and the *Śrīṅgeri*-maṭha on the banks of the river *Tuṅgabhadra* in a hymn styled *Puṣpagirimaṭhāmnāya* which is quoted in the *Śāṅkaramaṭhatattvapraśāsikāsaṅgraha* published a century ago by the great Telugu Poet, *Kokundrum Venkataratnam Pantulu gāru* states that *Vidyāraṇya* came from *Kāñcī* to *Humpi* or *Virūpākṣa* and wrought many miracles. And after his life work in that region he returned to *Kāñcī* with great pomp and splendour.¹ Thus *Kāñcī*

1. ततः परं गजाद्रीन्दुरूपके शकवत्सरे ।
विद्यारण्यगुरुः काञ्चीनगरीं सम्बभौ महान् ।

has been connected with the propagation of *dharma* through the *Śāṅkarite* Institutions in the Andhra and Karnataka regions.

One of the noteworthy features of the *Śāṅkarite* Institutions in the north and the west is that the *śaktisthāna* is far away from the *kṣetra* and the *Devatāsthāna*. The *kṣetra* and the *Devatāsthāna* are identical. It is thus: the *kṣetra* and *devatāsthāna* of the Institution in the north is *Badarī*. The *sthāna* of *śakti*, *Pūrṇagiri*, is in the Nepal border nearly more than two hundred miles away from *Badarī*. In the same way, the *kṣetra* and the *devatāsthāna* of the Institution in the West is *Dvārakā*. The *sthāna* of *śakti*, *Bhadrakālī*, is in *Ujjaini* which is far away from *Dvārakā*. In the Southern region, however, the position is different. *Kāñcī* is the abode of *śakti* and *devatā* and so the *śaktisthāna* is identical with the *devatāsthāna*. But *Rāmeśvaram* the southern *āmnāyakṣetra* is neither the *devatāsthāna* nor the

पुण्यक्षेत्रे विरूपाक्षे मठमेकं मनोहरम् ।

वैशाखकृष्णपक्षस्य तृतीयायां विद्योर्दिने ।

विद्युज्य काञ्चीनगरं सहस्रैर्व्ययं सवाहनम् ।

विद्यारण्यगुरुः स्वामी कैलासालयं आविशत् ।

tataḥ paraṁ gajādrīndurūpake śakavatsare |
vidyāraṇyaguruḥ kāñcīnagaryām sambabhau mahān ||

punyaḥkṣetre virūpākṣe maṭhamekatṁ manoharam |

vaiśākhakṛṣṇapakṣasya tṛtīyāyām vidhordīne |
viśvīya kāñcīnagaram sahasraivryam savāhanam ||
vidyāraṇyaguruḥsvāmī kailāśālayam āviśat ||

śaktisthāna. Kāñcī, the Southern *mokṣapurī*, is the place of both the southern *āmnāya-śakti*—Kāmākṣī, and the southern *āmnāya-devatā*—Ādivarāha. Although the institution for the southern region should be in Rāmeśvaram as it is the southern *dhām*, yet Kāñcī became the headquarters not only because it is the seat of the southern *āmnāyaśakti*—Kāmākṣī and the southern *āmnāyadevatā*—Ādivarāha but also because Śrī Saṅkara was there in his last days. And this institution is based upon the *Kāmakoti-pīṭha* at the ancient *Kāmakotṭam* whose praise had been sung by the three Nāyanmārs.

IV

Śrī Saṅkara's life thus has been closely associated with Kāñcī; Kāñcī and its environs are replete with the reminiscences of Saṅkara's life and mission. The temples of all denominations in Kāñcī abound in sculptures representing a *sannyāsin* with *eka-daṇḍa* many of which could easily be identified as those of Śrī Saṅkara.¹

To begin with: there is a life-size stone image of Śrī Saṅkara installed in a shrine in close proximity to the *sanctum-sanctorum* of Śrī Kāmākṣī. The bronze *utsava-mūrti* of Śrī Saṅkara which is in this shrine is taken every year on the *Vyāsa-pūjā* day to *Mukti-maṇḍapa* on the banks of the *Sarva-tīrtha*, and is offered worship there.

In the *maṇḍapa* with one hundred and eight pillars at Śrī Varadarājasvāmi temple there is a sculptured panel in

which are depicted a *brāhmaṇa paṇḍita* with *śikhā* and *yajñopavīta* in a defiant and arrogant mood, and a young *sannyāsin* with *ekadaṇḍa* in front of him, and radiating calmness. This panel illustrates the meeting between Vyāsa in disguise and Saṅkara, at which the former challenged, in order to test, Saṅkara's interpretation of the *Brahma-sūtra*. There is another sculpture in the same temple on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* to the north of the shrine of the Tāyār (*Lakṣmī*) which shows an elderly sage, with *jaṭā*, *rudrākṣa*, and *yajñopavīta*, in a sitting posture, and with one finger of the right hand raised, and an *ekadaṇḍa-sannyāsin* standing nearby, offering obeisance. This sculpture evidently is the complement to the previous one; it represents Saṅkara worshipping Vyāsa after the latter's identity had been disclosed.

It may be asked how a sculpture relating to *Advaita-siddhānta* came to be sculptured in a temple under the control of the followers of Rāmānuja. We may in this connection draw the attention of the readers to the following facts :—

According to the *Cidvilāsiya-Saṅkara-Vijaya*, which treats about the life of Śrī Saṅkara, it was Śrī Saṅkara who had the Varadarāja temple constructed through Rājasena, the then Ruler of Kāñcī. Since the temple was constructed under the direction of Śrī Saṅkara it was but proper to sculpture some incidents in his life in the temple. Not only this: sculptures of an *ekadaṇḍi-advaiti-sannyāsin*, apparently Śrī Saṅkara, are found in some of the temples, under the control of the followers of Rāmānuja, in and around Kāñcī. In the Varadarāja temple itself there are some more sculp-

1. See Appendix for illustrations

tures of an *ekadaṇḍi-advaita-smārta-sannyāsin*, one in the four-pillared *Vasantamaṇḍapam* to the right of the *amṛta-saras*, representing a standing *sannyāsin* with a *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* by his side, and the other outside the eastern wall of the second *prākāra* of the temple featuring an *ekadaṇḍa-sannyāsin* without *śikhā*.

There is another sculpture in the *Vaikunṭhaperumāl* temple representing a *sannyāsin* without *śikhā*, with *ekadaṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* and a *pustaka* by his side and with a *cāmara* on either side of his hand, standing on one foot and performing *tapas*, with his left hand on the top of his head.

There is a sculpture featuring an *ekadaṇḍa-advaiti-sannyāsin* without *śikhā* and *yajñopavīta* in the big *Viṣṇu* temple in *Sevilimeḍu* (*Śivaliṅga-meḍu*) at the southern outskirts of *Kāñcī*. There are similar sculptures in some of the *Śiva* temples also of the place, as for example the *Puṇyakoṭi-śvara* temple, *Kumarakoṣṭham*, *Kaccapeśvara* temple, and many in *Ekāmreśvara* temple.

The sculptors in and around *Kāñcī* were so familiar with and so much devoted to *Śrī Śaṅkara* that they sculptured his figure in all the prominent temples in the city without regard to the deity to which they were dedicated or the sect to which the temple belonged in the later times. Not only this. It seems that *Śrī Śaṅkara* or his successors had something to do with the management of the *Varadarāja* temple. This could be seen from Vol. III (pages 340-341) of the *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts* relating to Mackenzie's collection, where William Taylor gives a brief summary of a copper-plate inscription in *Viṣṇu-Kāñcī* in which the name

of *Śaṅkarācārya* appears among others as one who had something to do with the temple before the line of *Tātācārya* took charge. *Śrī Śaṅkara* and his successors having been connected with the temple, it was but natural that sculptural figures of him are seen in the temple.

There is an inscription in the *Varadarāja* temple relating to Mutt, called *Veda-maṭha*, situated in the temple, the head of which is named as *Vedendra-Sāgara* (No. 350, South Indian Temple Inscriptions—Vol. I, Madras Government Oriental Series, No. C. IV).¹ The appellation of *Sāgara* is one of the ten appellations used by *Daśanāmi-sannyāsins* of the *Advaita-saṃpradāya*:

1. It may be added here that there are evidences which go to show the existence in *Kāñcī* of the *Sannyāsins* of two more orders of *tīrtha* and *bhārati* apart from *sarasvatī* and *sāgara*.

In the walls of the *Śiva* temple at *Ambil* village, there is an inscription in Tamil wherein the *Ambil* village is referred to as *maḍappuram*, that is, offered to *Sannyāsins*. This inscription records the institution of an annual worship for the merits of *Kṛṣṇa Devarāja* by *Candraśekhara Sarasvatī*.

In another village (8 miles north to *Kāñcī*) *Govindavāḍi* a *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-kṣetra* there are two sculptures of *Advaita-ekadaṇḍa-sannyāsins*, one enshrined in the wall in the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-sannidhi* and the other prostrating with *daṇḍa* towards *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. There is an inscription referring to this sculpture as an *Advaita-sannyāsin* of the *tīrtha* order.

Of the many sculptures of *Advaita-sannyāsins* in the *Kāmākṣī* temple, one sculpture is referred to in the inscription under it as a *sannyāsin* of the *bhārati* order. There is nothing strange in it. As pointed out earlier, in the *Guruparamparā* of the *bhārati* order of *sannyāsins*, recorded in the *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India* it is said: *Śaṅkara* installed *Kāmākṣī* at *Kāñcī* and attained *siddhi* there; and on hearing about it *Prthivīdharabhārati*—the preceptor of the institution of *Bhārati* order on the banks of *Tuṅga-bhadra* reached *Kāñcī*. The *Guruparamparā* of the *Kūḍali Maṭha* also says the same thing with a very slight modification in phraseology. The disciples of *Prthivīdharabhārati* might have stayed on at *Kāñcī* and thus we come to have a sculpture of a *sannyāsin* of the *bhārati* order.

तीर्थाश्रमवनारण्यनिरिपर्वतसागराः ।
सरस्वती भारती च पुरी नामानि वै दशः ।

Īrthāśramavanāraṇyagiriṣarvatasāgarāḥ |
sarasvatī bhārati ca purī nāmāni vai daśa ||

The sannyāsins of the *Rāmānuja-saṁpradaya* do not use any of these ten appellations. From this we can say that in the early centuries of the post-Rāmānuja period, there was no objection to an Advaita institution flourishing in the precincts of a Viṣṇu temple.

There is a Viṣṇu temple in a village called Tirumukkūḍal on the banks of the Palar 13 miles to the east of Kāñcī. An inscription in this temple states that a college and a hospital were being maintained by the temple and that *Śivāgama* was one of the subjects taught in the college attached to that Viṣṇu temple.

These two inscriptions show that in the early centuries of the post-Rāmānuja period there was no bias against the propagation of Śaivite and Advaita tenets in Viṣṇu temples.

It is well known that the Śaṅkara Mutt in Viṣṇu Kāñcī is situated just a little to the West of the Varadarāja temple. This Mutt is referred to in a copper-plate inscription of the later Telugu Chola time in the following words :

सोऽय श्रीगण्डगोपालचोलक्षमापतिरात्मनः ।
पद्मभिषेचनादूर्ध्वं वर्षे च सति षोडशे ।
तपोधनाय मुनये शिवध्यानरतात्मने ।
स्वात्मारामाय विदुषे पोटिपल्लिप्रथितात्मने ।
श्रीहस्तिशैलनाथस्य निलयात् पश्चिमे मठे ।

नित्यान्नदानविधिसन्तर्पितात्मद्विजन्मने ।
श्री शंकरार्यगुरवे वत्सरे खरसंहिते ।

अम्बिकापुरनामानं ग्रामचिन्तामणीन् (णि?) ददौ ।

so 'yam śrīgaṇḍagopālacakṣmāpatirātmanah
paṭṭābhīṣecanāt ūrdhvaṁ varṣe ca sati ṣoḍaśe
tapodhanāya munaye śivādhyānaratātmane
svātmārāmāya viduṣe poṭṭipalliprathitātmane
śrīhastisailanāthasya nilayāt paścime maṭhe
nigamāntarahasyārtham śiṣyebhyastu vivṛṇvate
nityānnadānavidhisantarpitātmadvijaṇmane
śrī śaṅkarāryagurave vatsare kharasamhitā
ambikāpuranāmānaṁ grāmacintāma(ṇiṇ) [ṇim] dadau

Some scholars may try to explain that the sitting figure in the Varadarāja temple on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* to the north of the shrine of Tāyār represents a *sannyāsin* of the Rāmānuja-saṁpradāya by name Aḷagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer or Ramya-jāmāṭṭ-muni and the standing figure as of one Śaṅkara-Dāsa, a philanthropist who at the bidding of Aḷagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer, constructed a *maṇḍapa* in Kāñcī to install the goddess Marakatavalli. As authority for the same, they may rely upon an inscription in Sanskrit which states that a certain Śaṅkara-Dāsa built the *maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine of the Marakatavalli Nācchiyār at Kāñcī at the bidding of one Aḷagiya-Maṇavāla (No. 432, South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Madras Government Oriental Series No. CIV).

वेदान्तद्वयतत्त्वबोधमुदितैः श्रीरम्पजामातृभिः

आज्ञातेन च धर्मविग्रहवता सङ्कल्पिते मण्डपे ।

श्रीमच्छङ्करदासनामविलसद्भक्तेन काञ्चीपुरे

श्रीलक्ष्मीर्मरकतव(लुप्य)सौ त्रिजगतां माता चकास्ति स्वयम् ।

*vedāntādvayatatvabodhamuditaiḥ śrīramya jāmātr̥bhīḥ
ājñātena ca dharmavigrahavatā saṅkalpīte maṇḍape
śrīmacchaṅkaradāsanāmaṇḍasadbhaktina kāñcīpure
śrīlakṣmīrmarakataavallyasau trijagatāṁ mātā cakāsti svayam*

The sculpture earlier discussed (No. 1) is on a pillar on the *maṇḍapa* on the northern side of the Tāyār *sannidhi* of the Varadarāja temple and the Goddess there is called Mahādevī (Perundevī in Tamil). She is not called Marakatavalli-Nācchiyār. The inscriptions relating to Aḷagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer and Śaṅkara-Dāsa is in the Dīpa-Prakāśa temple, a mile to the West of Varadarāja temple and not in the Varadarāja temple itself. There is another inscription in the Dīpa-Prakāśa temple. This inscription states that Aḷagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer built *prākāras* and *maṇḍapas* in the temple of Dīpa-Prakāśa.

श्रीभाष्यामृतपुरपूरितमनाः पद्मोलसन् माधवः

श्रीकाञ्ची(वर)पुरभूषणैः पतिवरैः श्रीरम्पजामातृभिः ।

प्रा(क)कारैरपि मण्डपैर्विरचितैः दिव्यैः विमानैः कृते

तत्सङ्कल्पितमन्दिरे विजयते दीपप्रकाशो हरिः ।

*śrībhāṣyāmṛta purapūritamanāḥ padmollasan mādhaveḥ
śrīkāñcī(va) (pu)rabhūṣaṇaiḥ yativaraiḥ śrīramyajāmātr̥bhīḥ
prā(ka) (kā)rairapi maṇḍapairviracitaiḥ divyaiḥ vimānaiḥ kṛte
tat saṅkalpitamandire vijayate dīpaprakāśo hariḥ*

According to this inscription, Aḷagiya-Maṇavāla Jeer was a *sannyāsin* belonging to the Rāmānuja sect. *Sannyāsins* of that persuasion alone use the appellation Jeers. The

sannyāsins of this persuasion do not discard their *śikhā* and *yajñopavīta*, carry *tridaṇḍa* and wear *tilaka*, that is, three vertical lines. The sitting figure in the sculpture in the Varadarāja temple can not be that of Aḷagiya Maṇavāla Jeer because that figure has matted hair (*jaṭā*), does not have *śikhā*, wears *rudrākṣamālā* and has neither *tilaka* nor *tridaṇḍa*. The sculpture in the standing posture should be that of an Advaita *sannyāsin*, apparently Śrī Śaṅkara. The figure clearly shows that he has no *śikhā*, has *ekadaṇḍa*, and does not wear *yajñopavīta*. He is doing *vandana*, represented by the *añjali* posture with *daṇḍa*. A *sannyāsin* does not worship one who wears *śikhā*, *yajñopavīta*, etc. Here in this sculpture we find a *sannyāsin* worshipping one who wears *yajñopavīta*, etc. The former must therefore be Śrī Śaṅkara and the latter must be Vyāsācārya — the *paramaguru* of Gauḍapāda according to the *guruparaṁparā* of Advaita-ācāryas.

नारायणं पद्मभुवं वसिष्ठं शक्तिं च तत्पुत्रपराशरं च

व्यासे शुकं गौडपदं महान्तं गोविन्दयोगीन्द्रमथास्य शिष्यम् ।

श्रीशङ्कराचार्यमथास्य पद्मपादं च हस्तामलकं च शिष्यं

त तोटकं वार्तिककारमन्यानस्मदगुरुन् सन्ततमानतोऽस्मि ।

*nārāyaṇaṁ padmabhuvan vasiṣṭhaṁ śaktiṁ ca tatputraparāśaram ca
vyāsaṁ śukaṁ gauḍapadam mahāntaṁ govindayogīndramathāsya śiṣyam
śrī śaṅkarācāryamathāsya padmapādaṁ ca hastāmalakaṁ ca śiṣyam
taṁ toṭakaṁ vārtikakāramanyaṁ asmadgurūn santatamānato' smi*

The third inscription in Telugu states that a chieftain (Miṭhādhāra) named Śaṅkara Dāsa renovated the *maṇḍapam*, etc, in the Dīpa-prakāśa temple.

सखि श्रीविजयाम्बुदय शालीवाहनशकाब्दाः १६५२ साधारणनामसंवत्सरमुलो
श्रीदीपप्रकाशसामिसन्निधिपुंडु अम्मवारि सन्निधिमुंडु ई मण्डपं राजश्री शंकरदास मिटाजी-
वारि धर्मम् ।

दीपप्रकाश(क)जगत्प्रभुसन्निधौ श्री-

श्रीमन्दिरं विजयतामिह राजधान्याम् ।

धर्मार्थिना जगति शंकरदासनाम्ना

धीरेण लोकविलसद्यशसा निबद्धम् ।

साधारणाब्दसमयकलौ श्रीमन्दिरं चिरं विरचितमत एव तस्मात् आसूर्यमाभर-
जनीकर.....तद्धि गृहे वसतु शङ्करदासनाम्नाः ।

*svasti śrīvijayāmbhūdaya śālīvāhanaśakābdāḥ 1652 sādharanāmasath-
vatsaramulo śrī dipaparakāśasvāmī sannidhiyandu ammaṁvārī sannidhimundu ī
maṇḍapam rājāśrī śaṅkaradāsa mīṭhājīvārī dharmam*

*dīpaprakāśa(ka) jagatprabhusannidhau śrī
śrīmandirāṁ vijayatām iha rājadhānyām
dharmārthīnā jagati śaṅkaradāsanāmnā
dhīreṇa lokavilasadyaśasā nibaddham*

*sādharanābdasamayakalau śrīmandirāṁ ciraṁ ata eva tasmāt āsūryamā-
bharajanīkara.....taddhi gṛhe vasatu śaṅkaradāsanāmnāḥ.*

So the one Śaṅkara-Dāsa referred to in the inscription in the Dīpa-prakāśa temple should be a king or chieftain and not a *sannyāsin*. Further, on the first pillar on the southern side of the outer *maṇḍapam* of the said Tāyār-*sannidhi*, there is a sculpture of one Śaṅkara-Dāsa with a label in Telugu script above, mentioning Rājā Śrī Śaṅkara-Dāsa. The diadem, the moustached countenance, the ornaments and the apparel of the figure show that it represents Śaṅkara-Dāsa, the Chieftain.

Considering all these facts together we may safely say that the standing figure in the Tāyār *sannidhi* is that of Śrī Śaṅkara and not that of Śaṅkara-Dāsa.

There is a temple at Kāñcī called Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya. On the super-structure of the main shrine of this temple there are two stucco figures. One represents Vyāsa with his two arms raised, signifying Vyāsa saying with uplifted arms before Śrī Viśveśvara at Kāśī that there is no God higher than Keśava.

सत्यं सत्यं पुनः सत्यं उद्धृत्य भुजमुच्यते ।

वेदात् शास्त्रं परं नास्ति न देवं केशवात् परम् ।

*satyaṁ satyaṁ punassatyaṁ uddhṛtya bhujaṁmucyate
vedāt śāstram paraṁ nāsti na daivam keśavāt pāram.*

And the other represents Vyāsa sitting in the *dhyāna*-posture. According to the *Kāñcī-māhātmya*, Nandikeśvara cursed Vyāsa for saying so and as a result of the curse Vyāsa was unable to move his uplifted arms. He then proceeded to Kāñcī, installed a *Śivaliṅga* there in a spot called Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya, that is, the place resorted to by the afflicted (*śrānta*) Vyāsa, and worshipped it.¹

One of the stucco images of the Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya temple mentioned above is similar to the sculpture in the Varadarājasvāmī temple. From this also we may infer that the sitting sculpture in the Varadarāja temple has been the model for other Vyāsa images. In the images occurring in both Varadarāja temple and the Vyāsa-Śrāntāśraya temple,

there is a resemblance in the facial expression and the *jaṭā-baddha-kalāpa*. But the image of Vyāsa with uplifted arms on the super-structure represents Vyāsa in an afflicted mood, whereas the other image represents him in a happier mood, his affliction having been removed by his worshipping the *Sivaliṅga* at *Kāñcī-kṣetra*.

These sculptural forms of Śrī Śaṅkara in the temples at Kāñcī are tangible and concrete evidence showing Śrī Śaṅkara's close connection with Kāñcī. Presumably to disapprove such connection of Śrī Śaṅkara with Kāñcī, it has been argued, that the sculptural forms of Śrī Śaṅkara found in the temples of Kāñcī are really those of Lakuliśa or *Lakṣādhyaṇī* of the *Golaki Santānam*. These alternatives indicate the uncertainty behind the argument. The *daṇḍa* in the hands of the sculptural images in Kāñcī are an unmistakable evidence that the images are those of Advaita-sannyāsins. To meet this negative evidence, it is argued that Lakuliśas of Pāśupata-sect also have *daṇḍa* in their hands. *Lakuḍa* means *daṇḍa*. But as *lukuḍa* and *lakula* sound almost similar, it is argued that the Lakuliśa is one who has a *daṇḍa*.¹

1. As regards the image of Śrī Śaṅkara in the precincts of the Kāmākṣī temple, it is asserted that it was originally an idol of Buddha and it had undergone rechistelling so as to make it appear as that of Śrī Śaṅkara.

Within the four rajavithis in Big Kāñcī are situated the Kāmākṣī temple dedicated to Devī Kāmākṣī, Kālī Koil dedicated to Kālī, Mahākālācāvar temple by the side of Kālī temple and Airāvatiśvarar temple dedicated to Śiva, the temple of Śaṅkapaṇi Pillayār dedicated to Vināyaka, Kumara-kṣṭah dedicated to Kumāra-Subrahmaṇya, and Ulahalandār temple dedicated to Lord Trivikrama Viṣṇu. A temple dedicated to Sūrya also existed nearby but now has become extinct.

But the *daṇḍa* in the hands of the Advaita-sannyāsins differs from that in the images of Lakuliśa thus : the former is of bamboo with knots (parvas) bearing the symbols of the conch (*śaṅkhamudrā*) and the axe (*paraśumudrā*) in cloth tied up with sacred threads (*daṇḍasūtras*). It is of the size of a thumb of the sannyāsins. The images of Lakuliśa have only a short staff and not the *daṇḍa* as described above.

A painted fresco enables us to have a clear idea of the type of staff that the Lakulisas had. This fresco was in an underground room in a village, Allādurg in Telaṅgāna area, and was discovered recently by the Archaeological Department of the Govt., of Andhra Pradesh. Experts are of the view that this must be 1200 years old. Since it has been in an underground room, it has been protected

In the same way, there might have been temples dedicated to Buddhist and Jaina faiths in and around the Kāmākṣī temple. In course of time, they might have been deserted on the decay of these faiths. The idols of Buddhist and Jaina pantheon are found scattered in that locality. In the Ekāmreśvara temple we find the images of Buddhist slabs in the walls of its outer *prākāra*. This does not mean that this temple was originally dedicated to Buddha and later it was fashioned so as to appear as the temple of Lord Śiva.

The argument that the mūrtis of Buddha were rechistelled in the form of Śrī Śaṅkara is wrong on the ground that the main purpose of chistelling and installing a sculpture is to worship reverently, and reverential worship one cannot expect to have in respect of rechistelled figures. Such chistelling and remodelling cannot command reverence either from the Buddhists or from the Hindus. A new mūrti of Śrī Śaṅkara could easily have been sculptured instead of rechistelling Buddha's image into that of Śrī Śaṅkara.

Śrī Mahāmahopādhyāya Gopinath Kavirāj in his work *Bhāratiya Saṁskṛti aur Sādhana* observes as follows :

अपने रहने के लिये आचार्य शङ्करने काशी कामकोटिपीठ में ही स्थान बनाया था । प्रसिद्ध है कि काशी में कामाक्षी देवी के मन्दिर में जहाँ पर आचार्य शङ्करजी की पाषाण-मयी मूर्ति है, उसी स्थान में उन्हें सिद्धि प्राप्त हुई थी ।

from exposure to wind, rain and sunshine and so is very clear. This fresco has been carefully transplanted to the Hyderabad Museum. There is a figure in this fresco, with a black turban and a black cloth as shawl. It has a staff in its hand. This staff appears to be made of silver since it is white in colour. The stone figures of Lakulīśa — excavated by the Archeological Department have similar staff in the hands but their material could not be identified because they are of stone. This fresco gives a clue to the identification of the staff as made of silver.

In the Ekāmreśvara temple there is an image of a *sannyāsin* with a *danḍa*, with the sacred thread alone, the cloth after a dip in water being in the process of drying up. In no *kṣetra* other than Kāñcī can one find as many images of Advaita-sannyāsins.

In the Iravāttaneśvarar temple at Kāñcī which belongs to the Pallava period we find in a niche in the wall the image of Śrī Vyāsa by the side of Dakṣiṇāmūrti. To the left of that image is an *ekadanḍa sannyāsin*, a boy of sixteen with *danḍa* in his hand and with just a few sprouts of hair on the head and with no beard on his chin as he is young. This could easily be identified as the figure of Śrī Saṅkara in his teens seated near Vyāsa. This sculpture has been discovered by Sri C. Sivaramamurti, Director, National Museum, New Delhi.

In Sivāsthānam in the South Eastern border of *Viṣṇu-Kāñcī kṣetra*, the *sanctum sanctorum* which is a *gopāpṛṣṭha-vimānam* has in its western wall a *śomāskandamūrti* and an Advaita-sannyāsin doing *danḍa-vandana* on the *garuḍāsana* as is usual when sannyāsins make *danḍa-vandana*. In this temple the idol of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the southern wall of *garbhagṛha* is most prominent. The beaming countenance of the *mūrti* is unique and is not found anywhere else.

In the *Mādhaviya-Saṅkara - vijaya* it is said that Saṅkara reached Kāñcī and offered worship to Ekāmreśvara and then to Viśvanātha (who is on the banks of Sarvatīrtha). He then went to pay obeisance to Goddess Kāmākṣī who is in the form of *bilakāśa* as if she desires to know the heart of Lord Siva.

*atra ekāmreśvarān viśvanāthān natvā gamyam svīabhāgyātītiyā
devīn dhāmāntargatamantakāre rādrān rudrasyeva jñānāsānām*

(14-60)

Bāṇa in his *Harṣa-caritra* refers to the Bhairavācārya, that is, Lakulīśa as wearing a black turban and a black shawl. This he explains on the basis of the *Āgama* texts of the Bhairavācāryas. Bāṇa says further that the Bhairavācāryas offer worship to win the favour of demons

तत्र एकाम्नाधीश्वरं विश्वनाथं नत्वा गम्यं स्वीयभागातिशीला ।

देवीं धामान्तर्गतमन्तकारेहर्द्रि रुद्रस्येव जिज्ञासमानाम् । [१४—६०]

Sri Saṅkara then offered worship to Kallāleśa who is nearby: The verse which states this is as follows:

कलालेशं द्राक्ततो नातिदूरे लक्ष्मीकान्तं संवसन्तं पुराणम् ।

कारुण्याद्रिखान्तमन्तादिशून्यं दृष्ट्वा देव सन्तुतोष एकभक्त्या ।

*kallāleśaṁ drāktato nātidūre lakṣmīkāntaṁ samvasantaṁ purāṇam
kāruṇyādrisvāntamantādisūnyaṁ dṛṣṭvā devaṁ santutoṣa ekabhaktyā*

The commentators construe the word *kallāleśa* with *lakṣmīkānta* and interprets it to mean Lord Varadarāja. But the word *kallāleśa* does not mean either etymologically or conventionally Lord Varadarāja. A careful study of *Sivajñānabodham*, *Tēvāram*, and *Tiruvīṇḍiyūḍal Purāṇam* shows that the word *kallāla* means a sturdy bunyan tree.

- i. கல்லால் நிழல் மலை வில்லார் அருளிய பொல்லார்
இணைமலர் நல்லார் புனைவரே.

[சிவஞானபோதம் - மங்கள வாழ்த்து]

- i. Kallāl niḷal malai villār aruḷiya pollār iṇai malar nallār punaivare

(Sivajñānabodham, Maṅgalavāṇī).

- ii. கல்லால் நிழல் மேயவனே

[தேவாரம், 437-3]

- ii. kallālniḷal mēyavanē

(Tēvāram, 437-3)

கல்லாலின் புடையமர்ந்து நான்மறை ஆறங்கமுதற் கற்ற கேள்வி
வல்லார்கள் நால்வர்க்கும் வாக்கிறந்த பூரணமாய் மறைக்கப்

[பாலாய்]

எல்லாமாய் அல்லதுமாய் இருந்தனை இருந்தபடி இருந்து காட்டி
சொல்லாமற் சொன்னவரை நினைபாமல் நினைந்து பவத்

[தொடக்கை வெல்வாம்]

(*vetāla*).¹ The existence of a *vetāla* temple in Allah Durg, in proximity to the fresco could be taken as evidence that the image is that of Bhairavācārya.

In the light of the foregoing analysis, the argument that the images having a *daṇḍa*, with a symbol of the conch (*śaṅkha*) and the axe in the temples in Kāñci could be those of Lakulīśas who have only a small silver staff in their hands, is unsound.

Hence we may conclude that because of the close association of Śrī Śaṅkara with Kāñci, we have several sculptural images of him in and around Kāñci.

The *paraṁparā* of Śrī Śaṅkara continues in line of succession in the great *Kāmakoti-piṭha* and this we know from several copper plate grants, stone epigraphs, and contemporary records. We shall deal with this point in some detail.

- iii. *Kallālin puḍaiyamandu nāmarai āraṅgamudar kaṇṇa kēḷi
vallārhaḥ nālvarkkuṁ vākkirāṇḍa pūraṇamāy maṇikkappālāy
yellāmāi alladumāi irundadanai irundapaḍi irundukāṇṇi
śollāmar sonnavarai ninaiyāmal ninaiṇdu bhavattoḍakkai velōḍm
(Tiruvilaiyāḍai Purāṇam-Kaḍavul Vāṭṭu)*

The word *kallāleśa* should therefore be taken to mean the Lord who is seated under the banyan tree, that is, Lord Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Thus the verse must be taken to mean: 'Śrī Śaṅkara then had a *darśan* of *Kallāleśa* (that is, Dakṣiṇāmūrti at Sivāsthānam), and afterwards had a *darśan* of Lakṣmī-kānta who is nearby to Sivāsthānam and was very much pleased.'

1. (i) *kṛṣṇaḥṣṇīṣam kṛṣṇavāsasam mahābhairavam bhairavācāryam apaśyat
Harṣacarita: (University of Kerala Sanskrit Series, No. 187),
Third Uchchvāsa, p. 163.*
- (ii) *bhagavataḥ mahakūlahṛdayanāmanah mahāmantrasya kṛṣṇaśṛṅgambharānulepanena
ākālpēna kalpakathilēna mahābhairavavratēna mahāśmaśāne japakoṭyā kṛtapūrvā
seva'smi. tasya ca vetālasādhakānūvasanā kāryasiddhiḥ.*

ibid., p. 159.

We have a wealth of details about *maṭha* and its history, preserved in the Moḍi records of the Madras Central Records office, the Sarasvati Mahal Library and the archives of the *maṭha* itself. Tradition has it that during the Carnatic wars on account of disturbed conditions, the *maṭha* was transferred from Kāñcīpuram to Tanjavur and then later from Tanjavur to Kumbhakonam. The Mackenzie Manuscripts throw light as regards the inscriptions relating to Śrī Kāmakoti *maṭha*.

The portion relating to Śrī Śaṅkarācārya of the Kāmakoti Pīṭha, Kumbhakonam, is found on page cclxxiii and ccxiv (263 & 264) of the second volume of Mackenzie's collection published by Wilson in 1828. It is extracted below:

Page CCLXIII: Report of Babu Rao, Maratta Translator to Col. Mackenzie, of his journey to Pondicherry, Karaical etc., along the coast for the purpose of collecting historical information, coins etc., from the 24th December, 1816 to 27th May 1817.

April 8th and 9th, 1817: Proceeding by way of Nachargudi I arrived at Kumbhakonam, collecting some coins thereof from the shroffs. 10th: I visited the chief priest of Sankarachari, expending four rupees on fruit etc., to introduce myself, and requested him to give me a copy of the copper inscription he had in his Matham, but some of the Karyasthalu (or managers of the Matham) directly denied that there were any inscriptions on copper-plate, being afraid of losing their original documents which they

had saved through many years from destruction during different wars. I encouraged them much assuring them that I would take no original but only wanted a copy; they answered that if I assured them that only a copy was to be taken, and that I would give them a recommendation to my master regarding their discontinued Jagirs, and obtain their restoration of any of the discontinued villages, he would give them a particular account of the Cola, Chera and Pandian—together with that of the Rajas of Bijanagur as he was the Guru of all the Rajas. I accordingly gave them recommendatory letter. Then confiding in my assertions that I had only come to copy inscriptions, and collect historical information he was much pleased and promised to get me particular information of the Rajas that had ruled from the commencement of the Kali Yugam. He took me into his agraharam and showed me about 125 copper *sasanams* each contained in five or six copper plates, he gave a copy of two, presented me with a piece of cloth worth 5 rupees and gave me leave promising me to get me a particular account of the Chola Rajas together with several coins if I recommended him personally to my master at Madras, and got any assistance to recover their discontinued villages.

There is a record bearing No. 31/C Item 60 subsection 5 among the Moḍi records from the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjavur. There is a petition where a number of people had made a complaint to the then king of Tanjavur about the alleged misdeeds of some *Kāryastha* of the *Maṭha*. This interesting document belongs to the time of Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī who ascended the *Kāmakoti Piṭha* in the

year 1851 during the time of the last king Sivaji of Tanjavur; and in this the petitioners in their introductory paragraphs give a brief but interesting account of the *Maṭha*. It is stated in the petition as follows:

“The Mutt of Śrī Śaṅkārācārya Svāmy at Kumbhakonam was a small Mutt¹ when it was at Kāñcīpuram. Raja Pratap Singh brought the Śaṅkarācārya from Kāñcī and built a Mutt at Dabir Agraharam, granted Mohinilands, offered him his first honour and respect, etc., etc.

This clearly shows that the *maṭha* was shifted from Kāñcīpuram to Tanjavur during the reign of Raja Pratap Simha of Tanjavur. We have fortunately enough of original documentary evidence of the Tanjavur Maratha rulers themselves to substantiate the above.²

The question as to why the Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoti *Maṭha* shifted its headquarters from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam arises for consideration. That the *maṭha* was established by Ādi Śaṅkara at Kāñcīpuram, and that it has been continuing in an unbroken line of great ācāryas is clear from the other evidence already shown here. As to why and when the *maṭha* shifted its headquarters to Kumbhakonam, we have clear evidence in another important public record. This is about a court case belonging to the time of the 64th ācārya of the *maṭha*. In the year 1844

1. In the report of Babu Rao to Col. C. Mackenzie reference is made to the Mutt's discontinued Jagirs and the request to their restoration. Probably it was in this stage that the institution is described as a *small mutt*.

2. See *Preceptors of Advaita*, p. 435.

A.D., the authorities of Śrīṅgeri Maṭha filed a civil suit in the Trichy District Sadar Amin Court claiming that the right for the *tāṣaṅka pratiṣṭhā* of Goddess Akhilāṇḍeśvarī belonged only to that *maṭha*. Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha was made the first defendant in the above civil suit. The plaint of the plaintiff, the answer of the first defendant, the reply of the plaintiff for this, the defendant's rejoinder (the evidence presented by both sides) and the judgement, are all now available to us in print. Ultimately the court decided that the documents submitted on behalf of the Śrīṅgeri Maṭha were not reliable, and that the oral evidence adduced on their behalf was self-contradictory, and the suit was dismissed with costs. This suit bears the number O.S. 95/1844. This was taken in appeal No. 109/1846 and in special appeal petition No. 106/1848 to higher courts and in both the appeals the Śrīṅgeri Maṭha's claims were disallowed with costs to this defendant. This one record is more than enough to give us a graphic insight into the affairs of Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha about 120 years ago. This record contains an important point of reference. In the rejoinder of the Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha, para 20, the reasons for the shift of the *maṭha* from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam are clearly given. The following is a free translation of the relevant passage :

“The plaintiff in column 20 of his reply states that if it is true that the *Kāmakoṭi-Piṭha* was established at Kāñcīpuram by Śaṅkara and if Śaṅkara's disciple was installed there, the first defendant should still be residing there only and the reason for his residence at Kumbhakonam has not

been stated in the defendant's answer. It is not stated in any authoritative text that the *Kāmakoṭi-Piṭhādhipati* must necessarily live only at Kāñcīpuram and should not take up his residence in any other place. The first defendant's disciples and other staff of the *maṭha* are still living in the Kāñcīpuram Maṭha and are still carrying on the daily *pūjā* to the *Sarvajña-Piṭha* there. The first defendant's *parama-Guru* (that is Guru's Guru) wanted to reside on the banks of the river Cauvery and hence came to reside in Kumbhakonam. He brought along with him the *Yogaliṅga-Candramaulīśvara-Svāmi*, consecrated by Sureśvarācārya. The local Rajahs and other disciples afforded every facility and convenience to him and hence he used to alternate his residence between Kumbhakonam and Kanchipuram etc., etc.”

The above clearly gives the reason why Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭha was shifted to Kumbhakonam. This record belongs to the time of the 64th *ācārya*, Śrī Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī V. He was the head of the *piṭha* from 1814 to 1851 A.D. His *Parama-Guru* was the 62nd Acharya, Śrī Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī IV who adorned the *piṭha* from 1746 to 1783 A.D. It was this *ācārya*, who sifted his head quarters from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam in order to carry out his meditation and worship on the peaceful banks of the river Cauvery. He attained *siddhi* in 1783 A.D. in Kumbhakonam itself. The traditional accounts of the shifting of the *maṭha* from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam assign it to the period of King Pratap Simha, one of the Tanjavur Maratha Rulers who

was a great devotee of the *ācārya*. This has been clearly corroborated by the Moḍi Document of 1750 A.D. mentioned above. This king ruled between 1740 and 1768 A.D. This traditional account of the shift of the *Maṭha* is fully borne out by the statement made in the court documents mentioned above. It is thus clear that in the latter half of the 18th century, the *Maṭha* was shifted from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam.¹

There is another record, a grant of 1783 A.D. which was made by the Raja of Sivaganga on September 10, in which the village Pulavacheri was granted to the *maṭha*. This grant purports to give the village Pulavacheri in Śālīvāhana Śakābdha, 1705, Kalyabda 4884, cyclic year Śobhana, Āvaṇi Māsa, 28th *tithi*, Śuklapakṣa, Bhānu-Vāsara and Pournimāvāsyā day, to *Śrī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha Singhāsanābhīṣikta Śrī Mahā Bhagavatpadācārya Svāmi Maṭha* situated in *Śrī Kāñcīpuram Divyakṣetra* for Svami Pūjā, Dīpārādhana, Brahmin feeding, etc., etc. We know from other evidence that the 63rd *ācārya* came to the Pīṭha on 20th January 1783 A. D., and on 10th September of the same year, the Pulavacheri record clearly establishes that the *pīṭha* was situated in *Kāñcīpuram*. We have already seen that the *maṭha* had been shifted from Kāñcīpuram to

1. *vide*: The celebrated Dabir Pandit, an expert in Revenue matters was another of the great men in his court. He continued to serve the son of Pratap except for a short period and did much good to that state. He and Pratap welcomed to Kumbhakonam the Sankarācārya of the Kamakoti Pīṭha from Udayarpalayam whither the latter had shifted from Kanci on account of the increasing Muhammeden trouble in the City." *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, Chapt. vii, p. 48.

Kumbhakonam only a few years ago and hence it can be safely deduced that the 63rd *ācārya*, Mahādevendra Sarasvatī IV must have come to Kāñcīpuram immediately after ascending the *pīṭha* probably on a tour. This also fully bears out the statement mentioned in the court document that the *ācāryas* used to live alternatively in Kāñcīpuram and Kumbhakonam and that the worship at the *maṭha* at *Kāñcīpuram* was being continued by the disciples, since only a few years after the shift of the *maṭha*, the grant clearly mentions that the *maṭha* was situated in *Kāñcīpuram*.

Though the *maṭha* was thus shifted to Kumbhakonam in the latter half of the 18th century, still in all the records of the *maṭha* the *ācāryas* were still being mentioned only as *Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Pīṭhādhipatis*. For example :

1. A Firman of the Nawab of Arcot of 1792 A.D. mentions that *Śrī Kāmakoṭi Śaṅkarācārya* should be given all facilities while going to Tirupati, river Krishna, etc.

2. There is a stone epigraph in *grantha* of the 63rd *ācārya*, Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī in the Ādi Kumbheśvara Svāmi temple in Kumbhakonam. Here also, the *ācārya* is referred to as :

śrī ācāryasvāmibhiḥ nirmita kāñcīpīṭhābhīṣikta
śrī mahādevendrayati ubhayam.

श्री आचार्यस्वामिभिः निर्मितकाञ्चीपीठाभिषिक्त] श्री महादेवेन्द्रयति उभयम् ।

3. Another stone epigraph of the same *ācārya* is found in that temple itself which is as follows :

"Śālīvāhana Śakābdam 1722, Dunmati varṣam, Kumbheśvarasvāmi Somāskanda-mūrtikku ardhamanṭapam, mahāmanṭapam mudunnu Śrī Kāñcī

Kāmakoti-piṭhādhipati Chandramouliśvara dāsabhūta Śrī Mahādevayati dharmam."

शालीवाहन शकाब्दम् १७२२, दुन्मतिवर्षे, कुम्भेश्वरखामि सोमास्कन्दमूर्तिवकु
अर्धमण्टपम्, महामण्टपम् मुदुन्नु श्री काञ्चीकामकोटिपीठाधिपति चन्द्रमौलीश्वरदासभूत
श्रीमहादेवयति धर्मम् ।

4. Towards the close of the 18th century Āvaṇi Śṛṅgeri mutt had sent a Śrīmukham to the then ācārya of the *Kāmakoti-Piṭha*. The Āvaṇi Śṛṅgeri Mutt is one of the sub-divisions over specified areas of the Karnataka region ; the others being Śṛṅgeri on the Tuṅgā, Virūpākṣa-Śringeri, Sivagaṅgā-Śṛṅgeri and Karavīr-Śringeri. The Āvaṇi Śṛṅgeri has jurisdiction in the eastern portion of Mysore. The Mutt began to tour the Tiruchirapalli district on the banks of the Akhaṇḍa Kāverī and when it was brought to its notice that it had encroached upon the traditional rights of the *Kāmakoti-Piṭham* in the locality, that mutt forwarded a Śrīmukham to the *Kāmakoti-piṭham* making amends and informing the routes they would take without violating the *status quo* in the locality. The route includes, Pudukotta, Madurai, Rameswaram, Ramnad, Sivaganga, Tirunelveli and Travancore. The Ācārya of the *Kāmakoti-Piṭha* is referred to in this letter as :

*Śrīmad Saṅkara bhagavatpādācāryāṇām adhiṣṭhāne
Sūhāsanābhīkṣitānām Śrī Kāmakoti Piṭhādhipati
Śrī Mahādevendra Sarasvatī*

श्रीमद् शङ्करभगवत्पादाचार्याणां अधिष्ठाने सिंहासनाभिषिक्तानां श्रीकामकोटिपीठाधि-
पति श्रीमहादेवेन्द्रसरस्वती ।

5. In 1840 A.D. the 64th Ācārya, Śrī Candrasekharendra Sarasvatī performed the Kumbhābhīṣeka of Śrī

Kāñcī Kāmākṣi temple. There is a stone epigraph in the temple which mentions this in Telugu characters as follows :

*"svasti Śrī vijayābhayudaya śāliwāhana śakābda 1761 vikāri nāma
sahvatsara. Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoti Piṭhādhipatulaṇa, Śrī Candrasekhara
Svāmulaṇu, Kumbhākoṇamunūci Kāñcīkivacci., etc."*

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदय शालीवाहनशकाब्द १७६१ विकारिनाम संवत्सर
श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटिपीठाधिपतुलैः श्रीचन्द्रशेखरखामुलवार कुम्भकोणमुनुच्चि काञ्चिकि वच्चि ।

6. There is another interesting letter of 1858 A.D. written by the Garrison officer of Kumbhakonam to the Agent of the Maṭha in which the officer Commanding had informed the Manager that some sepoys who had misbehaved did so due to ignorance and that he had issued suitable instructions to them. The addressee of this letter is given as follows :

*"Soobhier the Agent of Sree Sankarachariar the priest
of Sree Conjee Commacote Peetam at cusbah of
Combaconum."*

7. A reference to the Inam lands and Inam titles of the *maṭha* also shows that from ancient times onwards several lands in several villages round about Kāñcīpuram like Mādhavaram, Aṁbi, Śivakāñcī, Śevili-meḍu and Kuṇḍiyāntaṇḍalam have been in the occupation and enjoyment of the *maṭha*. In several of them the original title of the grantee is written as "*Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoti Piṭham*" or "*Kumbhakonam Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoti Piṭham*", etc. This also clearly shows that the traditional title of *Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoti Piṭha* was continued undisturbed even though due to various reasons the *maṭha* was transferred from Kāñcīpuram to Kumbhakonam.

8. The Āstikas of Madras who had an organisation or *Sabhā* for determining *dhārmic* questions and correct lapses, if any, in the community, were in the habit of assembling periodically in the premises of the Madras branch of the *Kāmakoti Piṭha* at 119, Thambu Chetty St., G. T., Madras, which was dedicated to Saṅkarācārya svāmi for the grace of Candramaulīśvara by one Vajrala Thyagarayadu in the year 1742. The Āstikas were represented by eighteen Jālādhipatis, who were the accredited heads of the different communities. The meetings were presided by an elected *Sabhāpati* at the time. The Śrīṅgeri Acārya in the year *Sukla* in the last century (1870) issued a *Śrīmukham* to the then *Sabhāpati* of the Madras Mahājanas, Śrīmān Paṇḍi-
peḍḍi Krishnasvāmi Ayyā in which the Ācārya makes it clear that he has no intention to act against the *Kāmakoti-Piṭha*.

9. In the present century the learned royal families of Cochin, Benaras and Pudukkottah refer to the institution as *Kāmakoti Piṭhādhiṣṭhāna of Jagadguru*.

10. In the *Subhalekha* (invitation) sent to this Mutt on the occasion of the coronation of the late Mahārāja of Mysore, Śrī Jaya Chāmarājendra Wodayar, this Mutt is referred to as *Śrī Jagadguru Kāñcī Śrīmat Saṅkara Bhagavat-pādācāryāṇām adhiṣṭhāne simhāsanābhīṣiktānām*.

11. The authorities of the Śrīṅgeri Mutt in a letter dated 14-10-1942 to Śrī Viśuddhānanda Bhārati who was residing in Kāñcī in the building belonging to Śrīṅgeri *maṭha* have informed that Kāñcī is the seat of the Great

Kāmakoti-Piṭha and the building of the Śrīṅgeri *maṭha* there was not to be given the status of a *maṭha*.

VI

It would be clear from the foregoing that the Ācārya of the *Kāñcīpiṭha* has been referred to as *Kāñcī-Kāmakoti-piṭhādhipati* even after the *maṭha* was shifted from Kāñcī to Kumbakonam in the latter half of the 18th century.

The author of a recent book *Devi Kāmākṣī in Kāñcī*, however, has said that 'the Saṅkarācārya of Kumbakonam has assumed the style of *Kāñcī-Kāmakoti - piṭhādhipati* in the year 1960.'¹

The same author in *A Manual of Pudukottai State* edited by him has said :

"The Hindu sects do not attempt to proselytise, nor is there any great organisation in the state to conserve the religious faith of the people. The followers of the Advaita school offer homage to the gurus of Kumbakonam (the *Kāñcī Kāmakoti Piṭha*) and of Śrīṅgeri founded by the great Śrī Saṅkara. The *guru* of the Kumbakonam *Piṭha* has a large following within the state, and since he is the *guru* of the ruling family, honours are accorded to him during his visits to the state." (Chapter III, p. 84).

In his article on *A Copper-plate of the Kāmakoti-piṭha* in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXIX for August 1951, the same author observes as follows :

1. *Devi Kāmākṣī in Kāñcī*, p. 58.

"The record is important as showing the very close connection that existed between the gurus of the *Kāmakoti Pīṭham* and the Pudukkoṭṭai Ruling House in the 18th century. About 1738, Vijaya Ragunātha Rāya had received spiritual instruction from Śrī Sadāśiva, the most illustrious disciples of the *maṭha* and this had brought him into the direct line of disciples of the Śaṅkarācāryas of this *maṭha*. The devotion that the ruler had for the venerable Svāmi of the *maṭha* was emulated by his followers and retainers who made this grant in 1742 to an agent of the *maṭha*.

In the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XXII, the above author refers to two firmans issued by the Nawab of Arcot and the East India Company one of which has the names of *Kāmakoti* and Śaṅkarācārya. The firmans are as follows :

Sri Sambamurti Sastri, a prominent disciple of the present Svami of the *Kāmakoti Pīṭha*, has sent me for examination four unpublished Persian inscriptions which I notice here very briefly.

The first which bears the seal of Saadat Khan is a grant confirming a previous one by Dawud Khan to 'Sankarācārya Gossain' of the village of Ponnambalam (Ponnai) in the 'Karnatak taluk of Hyderabad' measuring 250 *chakras* of dry land free of taxes. This document is dated 6 *zilhijja* in the 6th year (of the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah), 5 August 1725 A.D.

The second which bears the seal of Safdar Ali, 'Servant' of Muhammad Shah Padshah Ghazi again confirms the

same grant with effect from *fasli* 1151 (1741-42). This is dated 1 *Rajjab* in the 24th year of Muhammad Shah's reign, 22 August, 1742 A.D.

Dawud Khan, a *mansabdar* of the imperial court, held the post of *naib* of the *nizamat* of the Carnatic Payanghat between 1700 and 1708 A.D. Saadat Khan, his successor, was confirmed in the *nizamat* in 1723 by Asafjah Nizam-ul-mulk. According to the *massirul-umara*, he held the *nawabship* until 1732. (Burhan: *Tuzaki Walajahi*, Nainar's translation, Madras University, Part I, p. 64 n. ff). Nawab Safdar Ali did not enjoy the *nizamat* for long, and was murdered on *Shaban*, 1155 A.H. (October 1742). Dawud Khan's gift of a tax-free village to enable the Svami "to maintain himself and to pray to God in peace" was confirmed by two successors of the *nizamat* of the Subah of Arcot.

The third and the fourth record an order to all jagirdars, amaldars, mustajirs, chowkidars, poligars, foudjars, rahdars, etc., to afford safe passage to the "great guru Śaṅkarācārya Svāmi Mahant" of *Kāmakoti Pīṭha* and his retinue, and desist from collecting tolls or customs during his travels between the banks of the Krishna and Tinnevely while making pilgrimages to Tirupati, Ramesvaram, etc. One of them bears the seal of the commissioner of Customs, East India Company, and is dated 18 April 1792 (25 *Shaban*, 1206 A.H.), while the seal in the other [This record has Telugu and Marathi (Modi) translations] reads Padshah Ghazi Shah Alam, Muzaffarul Mulk, Amirud Dawlah, Azadud Dawlah, Salarul Mulk, etc., and is

dated 23 Nov., 1792 A.D. (8 *Rabi-us-sani* 1207 A.H.). These two documents reflect the political condition of the Carnatic in 1792 A.D. To ensure success in their war with Tippu, the Company had concluded in that year a treaty with the Nawab Muhammad Ali Walajah, and had assumed entire control of the Carnatic. Though the Nawab was virtually under the protection of the Company (cf: Madras Military Consultations—22nd August 1781—Nawab Walajah is to request to the Governor General), the fiction of the legal sovereignty of Delhi continued. (The name of the Moghal Emperor continued to be recited in the Friday prayers at Arcot and Madras almost until the dissolution of the Carnatic Kingdom). This explains why the *swāmi* got *firman*s from both the Company and the representative of the titular emperor.

One feature stands out prominently in these records—the spirit of religious toleration and respect for a highly venerated spiritual head of a large sect of Hindus which animated the ruler of the Carnatic from the time of the early *naibnazims*, whether Afghan or Persian by descent, down to the time of the annexation of the Kingdom by the Company. (See the writer's paper—*The Religious Policy of the Walajahi Nawabs of the Carnatic*, read at the All India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad session—to be published shortly in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.) These rulers, who professed to be the vassals of the *Padshah Ghazi*, the imperial defender of Islam, afforded ample protection to Hindus and fostered their religious Institutions. (Indian Historical Records Commission), Vol. XXII.

It will thus be seen from the above that the *ācāryas* of the *Kāmakoṭi-piṭha* have been referred to as *Kāmakoṭi-piṭhādhipatis* even in the latter half of the 18th Century.

CONCLUSION

At Kāñcī Goddess Kāmākṣī presides over the *Kāmakoṭi-piṭha* in *Kāmakoṣṭham* whose praise has been sung by the three great Nāyanmārs.

Śrī Saṅkara established an Institution for the southern region based upon the *Kāmakoṭi-piṭha* at Kāñcī, consecrated the *Yoga-liṅga* and spent his last days there. It is heartening to see that Śrī Saṅkara has been followed by a line of Advaitic Preceptors in that great Institution. May goddess Kāmākṣī, the *śakti* of the *Kāmakoṭi-piṭha*, protect us all—Her children.

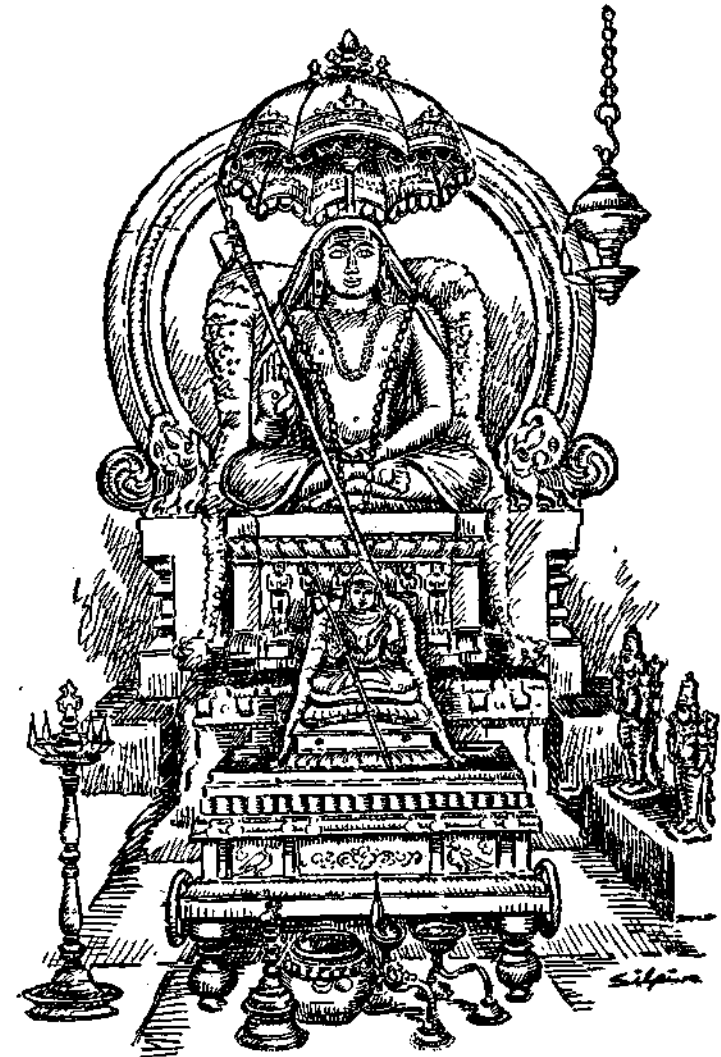
1. The *Naiṣadha-kāvya* refers to the *Yoga-liṅga* at Kāñcī in the following verse :

सिन्धौजैतमयं पवित्रमसृजत् तत्कीर्तिपूतादभुत्
यत्र स्नान्ति जगन्ति सन्ति कवयः के वा न वाचं यमाः ।
यदबिन्दुश्चियमिन्दुरश्नति जलं चाविश्य दृश्येतरौ
यस्यासौ जलदेवता स्फटिकभूः जगर्ति योगेश्वरः ॥ (१२-३८)

Some, however, read योगेश्वर instead of योगेश्वर. Śrī Baldev Upādhyāya in his work *Śrī Saṅkarācārya* refers to this and affirms that the reading योगेश्वर is a correct one.

काशी के लिंग के नाम के विषय में कहीं योगेश्वर और कहीं योगेश्वर पाठ मिलता है । परन्तु पूर्वापर का अच्छी तरह समन्वय कर योगेश्वर पाठ ही ठीक प्रतीत होता है । नैषध में (१२-३८) काशी स्थित जिस स्फटिकलिंग का वर्णन है, वह शङ्कर द्वारा स्थापित योगेश्वर लिंग ही है ।

(श्रीशङ्कराचार्य—by श्री बलदेव उपाध्याय, प्रकाशक-हिन्दुस्तानी एंकेडेमी, इलाहाबाद) १९६३, पृ. १४४.



A stone image of Śrī Saṅkara at the temple of Goddess Kāmākṣī

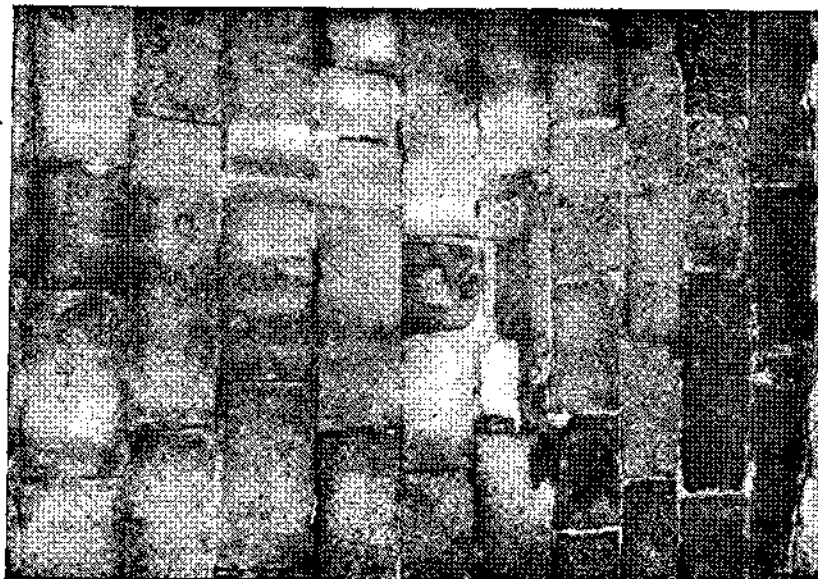
(See p. 52)



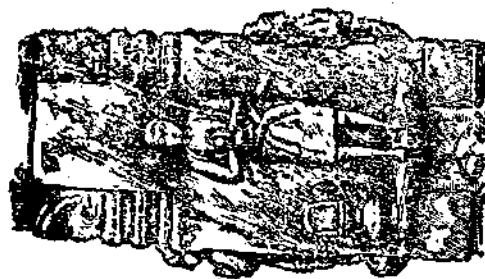
A Sculptured panel in the Varadarāja svāmī temple depicting
Sri Vyāsa in a defiant mood and Sri Śaṅkara with radiating
calmness (See pp. 52-53)



A Sculptural image of Sri Vyāsa and Sri Śaṅkara in the Varadarājasvāmī
temple (See p. 53)



A sculptural image of Śrī Saṅkara on the outside of the eastern wall of the second *prākāra* of Śrī Varadarājavarāma temple (See p. 54)



A sculpture of Śrī Saṅkara in the Vāsanta-maṭṭapa of Śrī Varadarāja temple, Kāñci (See p. 54)



A sculpture featuring Śrī Saṅkara in the Viṣṇu temple at Sevilimeṇḍu at the outskirts of Kāñci (See p. 54)



A sculpture of Śrī Saṅkara in Puṇyakotīśvara temple (See p. 54)



A sculptural image of Śrī Saṅkara in the Ekāmreśvara temple



A sculptural image of Śrī Saṅkara in the Vajkunṭha perumal temple, Kāñcī. (See p. 54)



A sculpture of Saṅkaradāsa in the Dipaprakāśa temple, Kāñcī (See p. 60)



Stucco figures representing Śrī Vyāsa in the Vyāsaśāntāśraya temple. (See p. 61.)



A figure of Bhairavācārya in a painted fresco discovered by the Archaeological Department of the Government of Andhra Pradesh (See p. 63.)



A sculpture of Sri Saṅkara in the Ekāmreśvara temple (See p. 64)



A sculptural image of Sri Saṅkara in *Daṇḍavandana* pose in the *sanctum sanctorum* of the Sivāsthānam temple at the outskirts of Kāñci (See p. 64)



A sculpture of Sri Saṅkara in Iravattaneśvara temple :

The central panel shows Daṅḍavandana pose and on either side there are two great ṛṣis—Vyāsa and Jaimini. To the left of Vyāsa is Saṅkara as a boy of sixteen with the *daṇḍa* in his hand and with his hair grown into curls and with no beard on his chin as he is so young. There are *rudrakṣa* beads on the neck of Saṅkara (See p. 64)

A circular seal with Arabic calligraphy, likely a library or ownership stamp. The text is arranged in a circular pattern around the perimeter, with a central emblem or smaller text. The seal is dark and appears to be a stamp on a document.

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محرم الحرام

Handwritten notes on lined paper:

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Right side:
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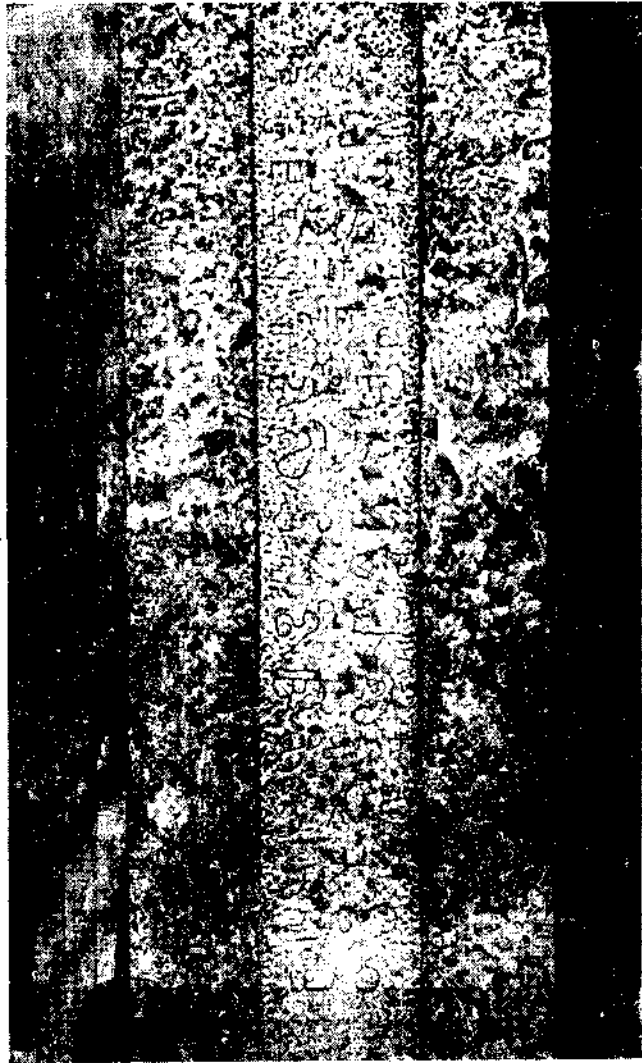
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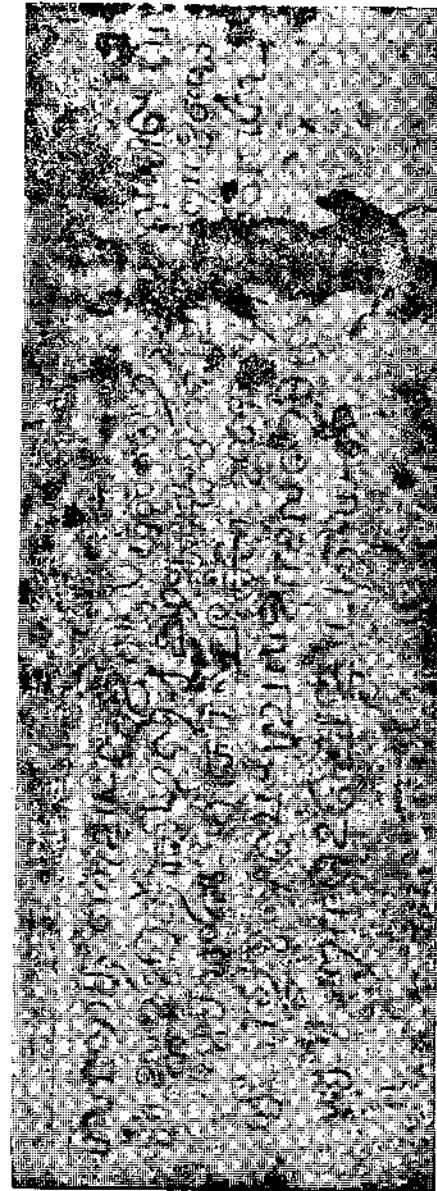
[Handwritten Tamil script, likely a signature or official stamp.]

I



Stone epigraphs (I-II) in the Ādi Kumbheśvara Svāmi temple
in Kumbhakonam. (p. 73)

II



(p. 74)

ఇందువలననుపపన్నాభిహారాత్
ఇందువలననుపపన్నాభిహారాత్
అభిహారాత్నుపపన్నాభిహారాత్
అభిహారాత్నుపపన్నాభిహారాత్
అభిహారాత్నుపపన్నాభిహారాత్

[illegible]

తెలుగు భాషా విశేషములు

این سند در تاریخ ۱۳۰۵/۱۲/۲۵ صادر شد

[illegible][illegible]

Srimukham from the Sringeri Acharya (1870 A.D.) to Sri Pandipeddi
Krishnaswami Ayya. (p. 76)

p. No.

**OFFICE OF THE SRI SRINGERI MUTT
& ITS PROPERTIES.**

V. SRINIVASACHAR,
OFFICER-IN-CHARGE.

Sringeri, Dated 14th Octr 19 42.

Most Reverred Swamiji

I am very much grateful to you for your kind letter. Mr.Nagara; Iyer came here and we gave him all comforts and conveniences for the darshan of Sri Saradambal etc., I must thank you for your proposal of arranging for founding a Library at Conjeevaram. The building there,cannot be considered assa Mutt. We only own a building there.which we have to keep in good repairs and the manager there takes care of the building It may not be quite advisable to keep photos or idols or padukas there and arrange for worship and give it the colour of the Mutt. As regards Library, the maintenance of it will involve some cost. Excepting to keep the building in order and we as it were a co-retaker of it , it has not been the intention of the Mutt to give it any better status, especially because,it is the seat of Kamakoti Pita and it is not advisable to get ourselves

to any controversy with that great Mutt, or to create
rival spirit in that locality.

With profound respects,

*Yours obediently,

The Minister

Officer-in-charge,
Sringeri Mutt & its properties.

Reverred Vishudhananda Theertha Swamiji,
Residing opposite Sri Sringeri mutt building,
CONJEEVARAM.

A letter dated 14-10-1942 from the authorities of the Sringeri Mutt to
Sri Visuddhananda Bharati. (p. 76)